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INTRODUCTION

This book is designed as the first of a series of volumes, devoted to biographies of deceased members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, which are to be printed at the expense of the "Towne Memorial Fund." This is not the place either to repeat the facts of the life of William Blanchard Towne, as they have been already sketched in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for January, 1878, or to anticipate the fuller record which should find place when his own name shall be reached in the series. But those who peruse this volume will find here a brief outline of the life of him to whose interest and munificence the proposed series of biographic memorials are due.

Mr. Towne was born in Bow, N. H., October 12, 1810, the son of Jonathan Towne, descended from William Towne, of Yarmouth, in England, who died in Topsfield, Mass., about 1672. His mother was Clarissa Hoyt, daughter of Captain John Hoyt; and from her he inherited vigor of mind and body. His early advantages were limited. At the age of sixteen, he went to Concord, N. H., in the employment of Dr. Josiah Crosby, who was then a young man, ready to give sympathy and aid to the studious and aspiring boy; and during the two years spent in his family received eighteen months of schooling and the help of a wise teacher; and to them he owed much. Between the years 1829 and 1834, while Mr. Towne was occupying the position of a clerk at Concord, he devoted his leisure hours to teaching in a Mission Sabbath-school.

His labors here reveal to us the spiritual side of his nature, and prove that, turning aside from his own cares, he was not unmindful of preparing the young for the active duties of life.

Next we find him in Boston occupying the same humble position as a clerk; soon, however, to be exchanged, by industry and application, for the position of partner in the firm of Bowker, Towne, & Co. In 1852, he became connected with the house of James M. Beebe & Co., and so remained thirteen years.

Mr. Towne married, June 15, 1842, Nancy French Hill, daughter of Jeremiah, descended from Ralph of Billerica, Mass., in the line, Ralph,[2] Samuel,[3] Ralph,[4] Solomon,[5] Jeremiah.[6]

After living in Boston until 1846, he made his home in Brookline, and there his wife died, May 3, 1858, aged forty; leaving three sons, William Henry, now of Boston, and Charles Edward and Arthur French, now of Chicago, all members of the legal profession.

In 1866, Mr. Towne visited Europe. Soon after his return, he married April 23, 1867, Miss Jennie S. Putnam, daughter of Daniel Putnam of Milford, N. H., who survives him. His home was afterwards in that beautiful town, where his parents at that time resided. He was a Representative of Milford in the Legislatures of 1873 and 1874, and held a leading position in the House. He was also Trustee and President of the Savings Institution and President of the Souhegan National Bank.

As early as 1834, Mr. Towne was engaged in the study of his family history; in 1844, he had prepared an extensive Towne genealogy; and, in 1852, he printed for private distribution a genealogical chart of the family. He became, in that year, a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and his relations with this society were intimate and important until death. For ten years he was its Treasurer, and afterwards Chairman of its

Finance Committee; he was also a Director, Vice-president for New Hampshire, and member of the Publishing Committee. For nine years he was Chairman and Treasurer of the "Register Club," conducting gratuitously the business affairs of the "Historical and Genealogical Register." He was active also in the measures which secured the Society's House, and well deserved to have his portrait placed, as it is, in the Hall, among the leading benefactors of the institution. To no one, except the president, the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, is the Society so much indebted for the success of that important enterprise.

He died at the home of his son, in Boston, April 10, 1876, aged sixty-five.

On the 1st of January, 1864, Mr. Towne gave to the New England Historic Genealogical Society the sum of one thousand dollars, to be placed in the hands of trustees and to be invested and known as the "Towne Memorial Fund," the principal and interest to be kept separate and apart from the other funds of the Society, and the income thereof to be devoted to the publication of memorial volumes of deceased members whenever the Society should deem it expedient. In 1870, Mr. Towne presented another sum of one thousand dollars to be added to the original amount. At the beginning of the year 1878, the fund having increased to upwards of four thousand dollars, the President, the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, in his annual address to the Society recommended that the work of preparing a volume should be commenced at once. The Board of Directors, to whom the subject was referred, recommended that a special committee should be appointed to prepare and print a volume of memorials of deceased members; and, at the meeting in March, 1878, a Committee was chosen, which proceeded at once to the discharge of their duty, making choice of Mr. John Ward Dean as Chairman, and Mr. John Gardner White as Secretary.

The action and purpose of the Committee can be best explained by giving here a copy of the Circular, addressed in the spring of 1878 to the friends of deceased members, whose aid was sought in the preparation of memorials.

The late WILLIAM B. TOWNE having established a fund, entitled the TOWNE MEMORIAL FUND, for the publication of memoirs of deceased members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, it is now proposed to begin the publication of these biographies in a series of volumes. The first volume will be issued as soon as sufficient material shall be prepared. The Committee charged with this duty will look for the preparation of fit memorials, preferably to one of the family, or some other competent person, who may be expected to write from full knowledge and sympathy.

Their design is to make the work a positive contribution to the history of the times, not consisting of mere eulogies, nor of statistical and colorless abstracts; but, in special consistency with the objects of the Society, they desire that these memorials should be models of full and accurate detail. The Committee, therefore, suggest to all who are kind enough to aid them that the following items are desirable for completeness.

They have no wish to prescribe the exact order and method in which these shall be incorporated into the narrative, but choose to leave this to the skill and taste of the various writers.

1. Name in full.
2. Names of both parents in full, with the mother's name before marriage. Ancestry to be limited to a single line, paternal and maternal.
3. Birth, Town, County, and State; also, year, month, and day.
4. Education, academic, collegiate, professional, or business. Dates of membership and of graduation, and names of institutions where educated.
5. Residences. Professional or business employments. Exact dates of beginning and of successive changes. In case of clergymen, full dates of ordination, installations, and dismissions, of what denomination, when and where settled. If a lawyer, when and where admitted to the bar.
6. Offices, honors, and titles, with exact date; also societies of which he was a member.
7. Publications, book or pamphlet, exact titles and dates; also, important contributions to periodicals or other works, with notices of manuscripts left by him.
8. Precise references to other biographies, obituaries, eulogies, funeral sermon, or any publication illustrating his life and character, noting when a portrait accompanies such publication.
9. Incidents, hereditary tendencies, peculiarities, tastes, and particularly anecdotes illustrative of his habits and course of life, or which will give interest to a biographical sketch.

10. Marriage, full date, wife's full name and residence before marriage, with her parents' names. Names of children in the order of their birth, with date of birth, and of death, when it has occurred.

In case of wife's death, the date in full, and the same facts of any subsequent marriage.

11. Death, date, place, and disease or other cause.

As a general guide to writers, an average of eight or ten octavo pages, consisting of thirty-nine lines of the same type [small pica] as this circular, may be suggested.

The value of these communications will depend on their accuracy.

It is hoped that the first volume may be put to press early next year.

JOHN WARD DEAN, *Chairman,*
HENRY A. HAZEN,
WILLIAM B. TRASK,
D. T. V. HUNTOON,
ARTHUR M. ALGER,
J. GARDNER WHITE, *Secretary,*
Committee on Publication of Memorials.

New England Historic Genealogical Society,
Society's House, 18 Somerset Street, Boston.

It is due to all concerned for the Committee to add that the Secretary, Mr. White, has had the supervision of the work, and has conducted the correspondence. He has also prepared the memorials for the press. Mr. Huntoon, another member, has had charge of the printing and the correction of the press. The Chairman, Mr. Dean, and the other members have assisted in various ways.

The Committee have decided that the memorials shall be prepared and printed in chronological order, arranged according to the date of death of the several members. The present volume contains biographies of all the members who died during the first eight years of the Society's existence, — from 1845 to 1852 inclusive.

The hope expressed in the circular that a volume might be ready for the press in 1879, has not been realized. The delay has been occasioned principally by the difficulty which the Committee encountered in securing adequate memorials of members whose deaths occurred almost a generation ago. Friends, familiar with their lives, had themselves passed away; and in some cases, after long delay and correspondence, the Committee have been compelled to use inadequate memorandums, already in the possession of the Society. This embarrassment will be relieved somewhat as the series advances.

The Index has been prepared by Mr. Oliver Bliss Stebbins of Boston, a member of the Society, and the Committee are indebted to him for the admirable and painstaking manner in which he has executed the work.

The Committee submit this volume to the Society and the public, confident that it will prove a useful contribution to our biographical literature.

JOHN WARD DEAN.
HENRY A. HAZEN.
J. GARDNER WHITE.
WILLIAM B. TRASK.
DANIEL T. V. HUNTOON.
ARTHUR M. ALGER.

WILLIAM DURKEE WILLIAMSON

Mr. Williamson, the eldest son of George and Mary (Foster) Williamson, was born in Canterbury, Connecticut, on the 31st of July, 1779. The name given him was in affectionate remembrance of his mother's maternal grandfather, William Durkee, and of her eldest brother of the same name, who had gone into the Revolutionary service, and at that time was supposed to be dead. Through his father, he was probably a descendant of one of the earliest settlers of Massachusetts. Prince and other historians mention a "Master Williamson," who accompanied Governor Winslow when the first treaty was made with Massasoit, at Plymouth, in March, 1621. His name does not appear in the list of passengers by the Mayflower, nor among the signers of the Combination which was formed at Cape Cod, in November, 1620. At the date when this reference to him is made, the Mayflower had not returned to England, nor had any other vessel arrived. That "Williamson" is a misprint for "Allerton," in Mourt's Relation, as has been conjectured by several writers, may be possible, and even probable, but that is the most that can be said about it. A family tradition has long existed, that three brothers named

Williamson came from England soon after the landing of the Pilgrims, and that one of them, who settled in the Old Colony, was the ancestor of the subject of this sketch, while the other brothers, of whom Dr. Hugh Williamson, author of the History of North Carolina, and Chancellor Williamson, of New Jersey, were descendants, went to Virginia. Nothing definite, however, is known of them.

The most remote ancestor from whom the family descent can be distinctly traced is Timothy Williamson, a freeman of Plymouth Colony, in 1647, and a soldier in King Philip's Indian war, from Marshfield, Massachusetts. His relationship to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State under Charles II., has been claimed, but without authority. A coat of arms, said to have been his and still preserved, bears the same crest as that of the distinguished statesman. He died in 1676, leaving four sons — Timothy, who died unmarried; Caleb, who lived in Hartford, Connecticut, and had no issue; Nathan, who died before June, 1718, leaving two sons, Timothy, Samuel, and six daughters; George, born in 1675 — and five daughters, Mary, Joanna, Experience, Martha, and Abigail.

George Williamson, last named, the great-grandfather of William D., lived successively in Marshfield, Duxbury, Rochester, Truro, Harwich, Eastham, and Middleboro'. He died in Middleboro' in 1742. His children were two sons — George, who left no issue, and Caleb — and five daughters, Thankful, Hepzibah, Deborah, Mary, and Beulah. Caleb was born in Harwich, in 1715, married Sarah Ransom, of Middleboro', and died in Canterbury, Connecticut, in 1795. He had nine children, viz.: Sarah and Nathan, both of whom died unmarried; Caleb, who married Mercy Jackson, by whom he had eight children; Robert, who died childless; Ebenezer, who married Hannah Foster, of Canterbury, and resided at Pittston, Maine, and Brooklyn, Connecticut, dying at Brooklyn, in 1830, aged eighty, and leaving no issue; Mary, who married Captain Seth

Tobey, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, where she died about 1800; George; Thankful, who married William Paddock, of Malone, New York; and Joseph, who died at Richfield, New York, in 1809.

George Williamson, last named, the father of William D. Williamson, was born in Middleboro' on the 15th of January, 1754, and afterwards removed with his father's family to Canterbury. He served in the Revolution, and participated in the battle of White Plains. After peace was declared he was captain of an artillery company in Brooklyn. In 1793 he transferred his residence to Amherst, Massachusetts, where he cultivated a farm until 1807, when he removed to Woodstock, Vermont, of which town he was repeatedly a Selectman. Thirteen years afterwards he became a resident of Bangor, Maine, and died there on the 10th of October, 1822, aged sixty-eight. He was a man of strong native powers, of sound judgment, and of high moral rectitude. His own limited advantages, which he always regretted, made him a constant and zealous advocate of education, and induced him to bestow it upon his sons to the extent of his resources. His wife, the daughter of William and Hannah (Durkee) Foster, of Canterbury, born on the 17th of November, 1758, was of the fifth generation in descent from Abraham Foster, who emigrated from Exeter, England, to Ipswich, Massachusetts, about 1635. Soon after the peace of 1783, her father removed to Whitehall, New York, where he died on the 15th of May, 1825, aged ninety years. She survived her husband ten years, and died at Belfast, Maine, on the 16th of January, 1832, aged seventy-three. For over half a century she was a devoted member of the Congregational Church. By her superior intellect, her practical benevolence, and her exemplary piety, she attained the highest esteem of all who knew her. She was a constant reader, and of so retentive a memory that she could turn to any passage of Scripture without a concordance, and repeat correctly all of Dr. Watts's hymns and psalms.

The parents of William D. were married on the 9th of July, 1778. Their other children were Aseneth, who married Jacob Childs, of Constable, New York, where she died in 1862, aged eighty; Robert, who died at Amherst, on the 1st of August, 1803, aged nineteen; George, who resided at Pittston, Maine, where he died on the 1st of February, 1860, aged seventy-three; Joseph, a lawyer, and a graduate at the University of Vermont in 1812, who resided at Belfast, Maine, from 1816 to the time of his death, on the 30th of September, 1854, at the age of sixty-five; Mary, who married Dr. Roswell Bates, of Fort Covington, New York, and died on the 9th of August, 1828, aged thirty-five; Hannah, who died unmarried, on the 2d of August, 1803; and Sarah, who married Dr. Ora F. Paddock, of Fort Covington, New York, where she died on the 17th of February, 1829, aged thirty years.

During boyhood young Williamson had all the advantages that the common schools of Amherst, kept only in the winter, could afford. A taste for books soon became developed in him, and at the age of thirteen he had mastered the Latin Grammar without the aid of a teacher. Soon after he attended a grammar school, of which Jesse Olds, a graduate of Harvard College, was preceptor. The moderate pecuniary circumstances of his father required the aid of William, as the oldest son, toward the support of a large family, and such aid, it was found, could be rendered more profitably abroad than at home. Therefore, for two successive seasons, he obtained employment on a farm in Brooklyn. Connecticut, returning to Amherst each winter, and resuming his studies. During the summer of 1797 he worked on his father's farm, which included a portion of the hill where Amherst College now stands. A permanent injury to one of his arms, induced by hard labor, determined him to obtain, if possible, a liberal education, and that summer was the last in which he followed the plough. Yet during those years of toil he acquired habits of industry and practical knowledge that were of great service in the subsequent pursuits of life.

The following autumn he left home to seek his fortune, provided with testimonials of good character from the Selectmen, and from the Rev. David Parsons, long a minister of Amherst. At Whately, ten miles distant, he was engaged as a teacher, his compensation being seven dollars and fifty cents per month. In the spring he took charge of a private school at Pittston, New York, where he remained nearly two years. All his wages not required for clothing were cheerfully paid to his father. During the winter of 1799 he taught the district school in Amherst, and resumed his classical studies, reciting to John and Solomon Strong, students at law in the office of their father, the Hon. Simeon Strong, soon after one of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court. Having completed his preparatory course at Deerfield Academy, he entered Williams College as a Freshman in October, 1800, being then a few months over twenty-one years of age. In the four succeeding winters of his college life he taught school at home. Notwithstanding these absences, by constant application, he was able to maintain a high rank in his class.

His position in college does not appear to have been an agreeable one. In those days politics had more influence than at present, and party lines were strictly drawn, even in the institutions of learning. At Williamstown all the faculty and a large proportion of the students were Federalists, while he was a Democrat. Partisanship was carried so far as to exclude him from speaking at the Junior exhibition, at which others, his inferiors in scholarship, received appointments. He resented the affront, and absented himself from college exercises. For this he was summoned before the authorities. He replied to their reprimand that he had been constant at prayers, at recitations, and at all places of duty, and had never transgressed any of the college laws, but if he was as poor a scholar as some who had received honors he had better be dismissed and return home. To this President Fitch answered, "Williamson, stop! You know you have been indulged in long absences. Had you remained here constantly, you would occupy a higher standing; you have done wrong, and are fined three shillings." Not a very great wrong, thought he, if measured by the penalty. This occurrence determined him to remove from Williams College, and he at once proceeded to enroll himself as a student at Brown University. He felt well satisfied with the change. The surroundings at Providence were more in accordance with his tastes; his fellow-students were more cordial and refined than those he had left, and there was entire liberality in politics. He graduated on the 5th of September, 1804, with the highest honors, having an oration in the afternoon, and in the forenoon "a syllogistic dispute," with three others, the best scholars in the class. The subject of the oration was "The Soul;" that of the dispute was this question: "Would not married people be as happy if their partners, instead of being chosen by themselves, were selected by civil authority?"

Upon leaving college he entered the office of the Hon. Samuel F. Dickinson of Amherst, as a law student, paying him at the rate of fifty dollars per year for tuition. Subsequently, he pursued his studies with the Hon. Samuel Thatcher, of Warren, Maine, and completed them with Jacob McGaw, Esq., long an eminent lawyer at Bangor. He was admitted to practice as an attorney in the Court of Common Pleas at Castine, which was then the shire town of the county of Hancock, on the 12th of November, 1807. His admission as a counsellor in the

Supreme Judicial Court did not take place until three years later. At that period the profession of law was maintained at a high standard. An attorney or counsellor was regarded as bound in honor to indemnify his clients for all losses or damages which were occasioned by negligence, or want of legal knowledge. The rules required that nine years, at least, be devoted to literary and professional pursuits, to qualify a person for admission to the Supreme Court as an attorney, and two years' practice therein to qualify him for admission as a counsellor. Believing that at no distant period Bangor was destined to become a place of great importance, he at once established himself there. With a view to a future residence Daniel Webster had visited the spot a few years before, attracted, as he said, by the favorable position which the slightest glance on the map must satisfy every one that it occupies. Situated at the head of navigation, on a broad and deep river, sixty miles from the sea, in the centre of an immense undeveloped country, it offered superior inducements to an active and industrious young man. His success was so rapid that, in 1812, he was able to purchase and occupy the estate at the westerly corner of Main and Middle Streets, which for over thirty years remained his home. On the westerly side of the front yard stood his square office, of a single story, with its walls lined with books, and a large open fireplace in the rear. This office still remains; the house has been removed, and its site is covered by a brick block.

Although he had been so short a time at the bar, on the 14th of January, 1808, he was commissioned, by Governor Sullivan, County Attorney for the County of Hancock. This turned his attention to the study of criminal law, and brought him to confront the ablest lawyers. Amid the changes effected by the raging party spirit of the times, the law under which he was appointed was repealed and again revived, when he was reappointed, on the 3d of September, 1811, to the same office. This he held, although under a Federal administration, until 1816, when Penobscot County was formed. On the 27th of November, 1809, he received the appointment of postmaster of Bangor, a trust which continued in his hands until the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, in 1820.

The political career of Mr. Williamson commenced in 1816, when he was nominated as State Senator, but failed of an election. The senatorial district was large, and three candidates were voted for on the same ticket. Judge Martin Kinsley, of Hampden, an old and well-known man, who had been Senator during the previous year, received enough votes from his friends to defeat an election by the people, and the General Court, which had a Federal majority, filled the vacancy by choosing the Hon. William Crosby, of Belfast, the opposing candidate. During the succeeding four years Mr. Williamson was returned by large majorities. The Senate then contained forty members, nine of whom were from the District of Maine. While a member of that body he was for three years Chairman of the "Committee on Eastern Lands." In the project of a separation of Maine from Massachusetts, which was effected in 1820, after long agitation, and after the measure had been thrice submitted to the people, he was an early, leading, and active agent. His wise influence in effecting an amicable dismemberment of the political ties which had so long bound the great Province of Maine to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and in securing an equitable division of the public property was conspicuous, and recognized by his immediate election as a member of the first Senate of the new State. Appointed to several of the most important committees of that body, before the spring session closed, he was chosen as its President. The existence of the first Legislature of Maine covered a period of seventeen months, from the last Wednesday of May, 1820, to the first

Wednesday of January, 1822, during which there were two protracted sessions. The labors of both branches were arduous and incessant, embracing, as they did, the codification of the laws and a complete organization of government. By his legislative experience and legal knowledge, Mr. Williamson was largely instrumental in shaping the policy of the new State.

The Hon. William King, the first Governor, having been appointed a Commissioner under the Spanish Treaty, Mr. Williamson, as President of the Senate, became acting and constitutional chief magistrate. This position he held from the 28th of May, 1821, to the 5th of December of the same year, when he resigned, in order to take his seat in the Seventeenth Congress, to which, from the district embracing the eastern portion of the State, he had been elected the September before. He reached Washington soon after the session commenced. Those now accustomed to make the journey from Bangor in less than forty-eight hours may be surprised to learn that it occupied him nine consecutive days, by stage, at an expense of sixty dollars.

His letters and fragments of a diary kept while in Congress give interesting descriptions of Clay, Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Randolph, Benton, Marshall, Wirt, and others, whose names have passed into history. In the Supreme Court of the United States he heard Pinckney and Webster speak against each other: "the former having abundance of gesture and earnestness; the latter logical and systematic, his argument being like a limpid, undisturbed fountain, in which we see objects distinctly to the bottom." He remarks that the best lawyers have copious minutes, to which they constantly refer, and that "the judges are very grave, patient, and reserved; not uttering in a whole day half as many words as a country magistrate in a petty trial." His position at Washington, both socially and politically, seems to have been a prominent one. Coming directly from the gubernatorial chair of a new and rapidly increasing State, and having always been of decided Republican principles, he was received with the highest respect and cordiality. His diary records the numerous levees and dinner-parties which he attended as well as the prompt and industrious care which the interests of his constituents received at his hands. "I rise early and retire late," he writes in a familiar letter, "and indeed every portion of my public life is laborious. Others have the faculty here, as well as in State legislation, to slide along easily, do little, and be responsible for little. But with me it is the reverse." The few speeches which he made bear marks of careful preparation, and were fortified by authorities and statistics. One, upon the duty of the government to protect the commerce and coast of Maine by naval and military works, caused the passage of a resolve requesting the President to order a survey of Penobscot River, with reference to erecting a fortification, which measure afterwards led to the construction of Fort Knox, at the Narrows, opposite Bucksport. The importance of such defences he could advocate from personal experience. Only eight years before, when the British invested Bangor, his dwelling-house was occupied by the enemy, his garden despoiled, and he, with other citizens, compelled to acknowledge themselves prisoners of war. He seldom, however, addressed the House. "I have said nothing upon the Bankrupt Bill," he wrote, "nor shall I. Nothing is more important here than to know when to speak, and when to keep silence. I find that those whose conduct is consistent, whose judgment is good, and whose speeches are few and concise, have the most influence." The Northeastern Boundary dispute began to be agitated during his Congressional term, and he mentions a long interview upon the subject with Mr. Adams, the Secretary of State, who loaned him the plans and arguments in the Department concerning it.

Increasing domestic cares and the demands of business induced Mr. Williamson to decline a second nomination for Congress, and in March, 1823, he resumed the practice of his profession at Bangor. The following year he was appointed Judge of Probate, a position which he occupied for sixteen years, until disqualified by a constitutional change in the tenure of judicial officers. In 1834, and again in 1839, he was a Commissioner for examining the condition of the banks of Maine. For several years he was President of the People's Bank of Bangor. Under a resolve of the Legislature of 1840 he was selected as Chairman of a Commission to visit the reformatory institutions of all the Northern States, with a view to the improvement of the Maine State Prison. The result of his investigations was embodied in a printed report, which was instrumental in effecting salutary reforms. This was the last public station that he occupied.

Mr. Williamson began collecting materials for his History of Maine in 1817 when a member of the Massachusetts Senate. In Boston the libraries of the Athenæum and of the Historical Society, as also the rich treasures contained in the State archives, were placed at his service. Volumes of manuscripts, copied exclusively by his own hand, bear witness to the indefatigable research and persevering labor which, in the midst of legislative duties, he found time to bestow upon his undertaking. It would seem that, for many years, he occupied every leisure moment when abroad in transcribing some historical fact, or in verifying some date from authorities not accessible at home. Bangor, the place of his residence, contained no public library, and his own collection of books was limited, both in number and in value. While acting as Governor, and when in Congress, he availed himself of the facilities which these positions afforded to increase his store. Nor did his efforts cease when he withdrew from public life. He visited all portions of Maine, drawing information from every source, whether contained in the almost illegible but invaluable records of the early proprietors, or the obscure traditions of the nearly extinct Indian tribes. In 1820, he addressed to some prominent citizen of every town in the State a printed circular soliciting detailed answers to a long series of questions concerning settlements, lands, wealth, religion, literature, monuments of antiquity, and other subjects of interest. These answers, about two hundred in number, in some instances comprising of themselves quite respectable town histories, embraced a large mass of facts and incidents, which otherwise would have been lost or forgotten. Many of the originals are preserved in the library of the Maine Historical Society.

It was not until 1824 that his plan of compiling a history of the new State assumed a definite form. He then commenced arranging the materials at hand, and for the next six years devoted every hour which could be spared from sleep or business to the undertaking. In 1832 the work was given to the public. Up to this time but few books relative to the history of Maine had appeared. In 1789 General Benjamin Lincoln, who had become interested in eastern lands through General Knox, published a pamphlet containing fourteen pages, entitled "Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Value of the Eastern Counties in the District of Maine." It was re printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Another quarto pamphlet on the same subject was published in 1793, with particular reference to bringing the two million acres of land purchased by William Bingham, of Philadelphia, into notice. Two years later, Judge Sullivan followed with his "History of the District of Maine," an octavo volume of four hundred and twenty-one pages, which was a work of importance and of value. A pamphlet of one hundred and two pages, entitled "A History of Acadia, Penobscot Bay and River," by Joseph

Whipple, of Bangor, appeared in 1816; and the same year Moses Greenleaf published his "Statistical View of Maine," which he reproduced in octavo form in 1829. The year after the separation, Samuel Freeman did good service in giving to the public "Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. Thomas Smith," who was for over a half-century minister of Portland; as did the Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf by his "Ecclesiastical Sketches" of the State. In 1827 William White published a small History of Belfast, which was followed in 1830 by George Folsom's History of Saco and Biddeford; and the following year the Maine Historical Society published their first volume, containing the first part of the History of Portland, by William Willis. The second part, completing the work, appeared the next year. These three town histories were the earliest, in a separate form, which had issued from the press in Maine, and with the other mentioned works comprised all the works of a historical nature relating to Maine which then existed. The appearance of Judge Williamson's elaborate work, therefore, constituted a new era in its local historical literature. The first edition of the History of Maine filled two octavo volumes of six hundred and sixty and seven hundred and fourteen pages respectively. One thousand copies were printed, three hundred and fifty of which were purchased by the State, and distributed to each town and organized plantation within its limits. A second edition, with an index, and some additional matter, accompanied by a portrait of the author, and an engraving of the capitol at Augusta, was published in 1839.

The publication of this work at once gave Judge Williamson a high reputation. It was favorably noticed by the press, and the prediction of the North American Review that it would "long be regarded as a standard history," has been verified by the lapse of nearly a half-century, during which it has maintained its pre-eminence. In point of literary execution the work is far from being faultless; the style is not perspicuous, and the narrative is too frequently encumbered with matter more properly belonging to the notes than to the text. But it was written in the midst of political duties and professional employments, with but little opportunity for condensation or correction. Upon retiring from active business the author had intended to prepare a revised edition. Ill-health, however, prevented an accomplishment of this purpose, and the work remains, as it originally appeared, a simple, unvarnished record of facts. In the language of the Hon. William Willis, "We could not now spare it, and the student of the history of Maine could not do without it. This State and all the States are greatly his debtor for this fruit of his unwearied and abundant labor. How low do the rewards of his political life sink when compared to this enduring monument! His political acts have perished in the using: the history will be his perpetual record."

Besides the History of Maine the following is believed to be an accurate list of all his productions that have appeared in print: —

Law and Lawyers, Jewish, Roman, English, and American. Published in the American Quarterly Register, XV. 31, 253, 397.

Notice of Orono, a Chief at Penobscot. Published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, IX. 82.

Indian Tribes in New England. Published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, IX. 92.

The Lutherans. Published in the American Quarterly Register, XIII. 162.

Annals of the City of Bangor. Published in the Historical Magazine, Third Series, III. 8, 86, 164.

Condition of the Religious Denominations of Maine at the Close of the Revolution. Published in Collections of the Maine Historical Society, VII. 217.

With the exception of occasional contributions to newspapers, Judge Williamson published but little during the last few years of his life. His fondness for statistics and biography never diminished, and a large mass of unarranged materials found among his manuscripts indicates an intention, which illness probably compelled him to abandon, of preparing historical and biographical sketches of the lawyers and ministers of Maine. He constantly maintained a correspondence with many eminent men of the country, whose acquaintance he had formed while in public life. A letter to him from John Adams, about the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights, is frequently cited at the present day.

The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon Judge Williamson in 1820. He was one of the founders of the Maine Historical Society, which became incorporated in 1822; and in 1836 was chosen a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was elected an Honorary Member of the Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, in 1838; of the New York Historical Society in 1839; of the Connecticut Historical Society in 1840; a Corresponding Member of the Statistical Association, Boston, in 1840, and an Honorary Member of the Northern Academy of Arts and Sciences, in 1842. He was chosen a Corresponding Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society on the 6th of July, 1845, a few months before his death, and sent in his acceptance on the 1st of September. The plan of the association accorded with his own tastes and pursuits, and in his letter of acceptance he expressed an intention, if health permitted, to contribute towards its laudable purposes.

Judge Williamson was first married on the 10th of June, 1806, at Amherst, Massachusetts, while a student at law, to Miss Jemima Montague Rice, the youngest daughter of Josiah and Submit Rice, who had been adopted into the family of her uncle, Gen. Zebina Montague, of

Amherst. She died at Bangor on the 22d of June, 1822, aged thirty-six years. By this marriage he had five children, viz.: Caroline J., who married, first, Nathaniel Haynes, a lawyer, of Bangor, and, second, John Chapman, of Boston, where she now resides; Harriet Hannah, who married Paul R. Hazeltine, of Belfast, Maine; William Foster, who died on the 6th of September, 1832, aged eighteen, while a member of the Junior Class of Bowdoin College; Mary Celia, who married, first, Richard W. Shapleigh, and, second, Livingston Livingston, a lawyer of New York; and Frances Augusta, who married Mayo Hazeltine, of Boston, where she died on the 31st of March, 1847. His second wife, to whom he was married on the 3d of June, 1823, was Susan Ester, daughter of Judge Phinehas White, of Putney, Vermont. She died on the 9th of March, 1824, aged twenty-one years. The following year he married Mrs. Clarissa (Emerson) Wiggin, widow of Joseph Wiggin, and the daughter of Edward and Abigail Emerson, of York, Maine. This estimable lady still survives, residing at York, the home of her childhood, at the advanced age of ninety-one, still retaining her faculties, both mental and physical, in an unusual degree. By his last two marriages there were no children. The only grandchildren of Judge Williamson now living are Henry Williamson Haynes of Boston, recently Professor of Greek in the University of Vermont; Mayo Williamson Hazeltine, of New York; and Philip Livingston, of Fort Lee, New Jersey, a student at Columbia College, New York.

When Mr. Williamson began his residence at Bangor, the township contained a population of about seven hundred, and was included in the county of Hancock, then extending from Canada to the sea. Castine was the shire town, and a single term of the Supreme Court, attended by a majority of the judges, was annually held there. Professional business, consequent upon the settlement of a new country, was large and increasing. Before a quarter of a century had elapsed, with a rapidity almost unparalleled at the present day, the little village had expanded to a city of ten thousand inhabitants, comprising an unusual number of active, energetic men engaged in large enterprises, and extending their commerce to all parts of the civilized world. The Bar was not inferior in ability to other members of this remarkable community, including as it did, at one time, Edward Kent, Jonathan P. Rogers, John Appleton, Jonas Cutting, William P. Fessenden, John B. Hill, Albert G. Jewett, and George F. Shepley. Mr. Williamson and Mr. McGaw, then two of the oldest lawyers, soon left the field to the younger men in the profession, retiring from practice at the courts, although continuing to act as counsellors. The remainder of his life was passed in the pursuits of his favorite historical studies and in the companionship of his books.

Although it is as a historian that the name and fame of Judge Williamson will descend to posterity, yet the records and reports of the courts attest his eminence as a lawyer, no less than do the varied and almost uninterrupted public stations, which for thirty years were bestowed upon him, bear witness to his successful career in the public service. As a lawyer his mind was thoroughly disciplined in the severe school of special pleading, before the days of digests and abridgments, when principles rather than mere decisions were relied upon. While not an eloquent advocate, in the language used by another, "at the bar he was energetic and able; zealous for his clients; quick of apprehension; rather solid than copious in learning; careful in preparing his cases, and impatient of opposition." When County Attorney, few excelled him in criminal law. His intimate knowledge of the law relating to real property, acquired by careful study and practical investigation, gave great weight to his opinions on that subject.

As a Judge of Probate he is said to have been courteous and impartial, and few appeals were ever taken from his decrees. A recent writer remarks that "this office is not appreciated by the public. It should always be filled by some learned, upright lawyer; for though the duties are executed in a noiseless manner, and without jury or crier, yet it has been estimated that in thirty years nearly all the estates in a county pass under the administration of the Probate Judiciary." The rights of the widow and of the orphan were always felt to be secure under his faithful care.

Mr. Williamson was always a man of deep religious impressions. In 1803, while in college, he became united with the Congregational Church in Amherst, and in 1811 he was one of the founders of the First Congregational Church in Bangor. Of that church and of the Second Church, which sprang from it, he continued a devoted member until his death. Public and charitable movements found in him a cordial supporter. At Washington he was President of a Colonization Society. He was always active in promoting the welfare of the educational institutions of his own State, and for several years served as one of the Overseers of Bowdoin College and of the Theological Seminary at Bangor.

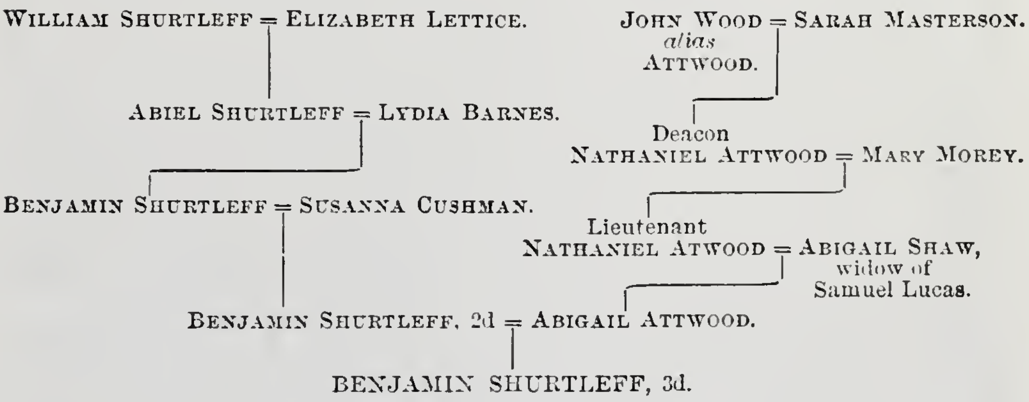
He lived through important periods of our history, and was a close observer of passing events. He had witnessed the erection of a new State, the development of new resources and improvements, and his own village grew beneath his eyes to be one of the most flourishing cities of the Union. No man ever contemplated with more delight the prosperity which surrounded him. Early imbued with the love of liberty, he religiously cherished it to his latest breath, and his political preferences were something more than the mere ambition of the day,—they were founded on an honest and abiding sense of right. In all the duties of life, whether public or private, he ever acted from the sincerest and most conscientious motives. No man had less duplicity of character, none was ever more devoted to his friends, and none ever received warmer friendship in return. Gratitude in him was a sacred duty never to be relinquished, and those only who were best acquainted with him knew the depth of his feelings and the warmth of his heart.

Judge Williamson died of a lingering and painful disease of the stomach at Bangor, on the 27th of May, 1846, aged sixty-six years. The Penobscot Bar attended his funeral as mourners, and passed resolutions expressing its respect for his memory.

BENJAMIN SHURTLEFF

Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff, of Boston, was the oldest son of Benjamin Shurtleff, the second of that name, and was a descendant in the fifth generation from William Shurtleff, who was killed by lightning at Marshfield in 1666, — the progenitor of all who bear the name in New England, and perhaps of all others in this country. All that is known of William and his probable origin has been published by the late Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, M. D., in a tract entitled "Brief Notice of William Shurtleff of Marshfield. Boston. Privately Printed, MDCCCL." From the facts therein stated it seems to be probable that William Shurtleff came to Plymouth before 1635, from Ecclesfield, a village in Yorkshire, England, about five miles from Sheffield and about twenty from Scrooby, the early gathering-place of the Pilgrims before they went to Holland. In this village, at a seat called Whitley Hall, once resided the only family of which we have any knowledge, who bore the name, previous to the appearance of William Shurtleff, or any other person of the name in America. The name first appears as Chiercliffe, then Chyrecliffe, Shiercliffe, and afterwards Shirtleff. The present spelling was used by a grandson of the American progenitor, and has been generally adopted by the family.

Of the other ancestors of Benjamin Shurtleff in this country, eight came in the Mayflower, viz. Isaac Allerton, his wife Mary and daughter Mary; Francis Cooke; Stephen Hopkins, his wife Elizabeth and daughter Damaris; and Richard Warren: three came in the Fortune, — Robert Cushman and his son Thomas, and Robert Hickes: eight came in the Ann, — Thomas Clarke; Jacob Cooke and his mother Esther; Robert Bartlett; Margaret and Phœbe, the wife and daughter of Robert Hickes; and Elizabeth and Mary, the wife and daughter of Richard Warren; — making nineteen in the first three vessels. Besides these he was descended from the following among the earliest Plymouth pilgrims: John Lothrop, John Shaw, John Barnes, Thomas Bourne, William Hedge, Thomas Lettice, Richard Masterson, Jonathan Morey, Mary Plummer, Widow Mary Ring, Samuel Sturtevant, George Watson, Robert Waterman, and John Wood *alias* Attwood. The following chart shows his descent from the original paternal and maternal ancestors in this country: —


WILLIAM SHURTLEFF = ELIZABETH LETTICE.
JOHN WOOD = SARAH MASTERSON.
alias
ATTWOOD.
ABIEL SHURTLEFF = LYDIA BARNES.
Deacon
NATHANIEL ATTWOOD = MARY MOREY.
BENJAMIN SHURTLEFF = SUSANNA CUSHMAN.
Lieutenant
NATHANIEL ATWOOD = ABIGAIL SHAW,
widow of
Samuel Lucas.
BENJAMIN SHURTLEFF, 2d = ABIGAIL ATTWOOD.
BENJAMIN SHURTLEFF, 3d.

Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff was born in that part of Plympton which is now the town of Carver, in the county of Plymouth, on the 7th of November, 1774. He was the oldest of a family of twelve brothers and sisters. His mother was a woman of great strength of character as well as of large bodily frame, and transmitted both these characteristics to her son. He passed his childhood and early youth upon the farm of his ancestors, and went for a short time to the common schools of the town, then to a school in Plymouth, and by a course of study for forty-eight weeks under several teachers fitted himself to enter, three weeks in advance, the Sophomore class at Brown University, where he was graduated, with the reputation of a good scholar, in 1796. After his graduation he taught school for a time in Plymouth, but very soon began the study of the profession to which his life was afterwards mainly devoted. From May, 1797, to December 22, 1798, he was at Plymouth, pursuing his medical studies under the direction of Drs. James Thacher and Nathan Hayward. On the 5th of February, 1799, he became Surgeon's Mate in the United States Navy, and set sail for the West Indies in the United States ship Merrimack, in company with Dr. Nathaniel Bradstreet as surgeon. The next nine months were spent in cruising among the islands and in the Gulf of Mexico, and on the 10th of December, 1799, his ship arrived at Boston from Havana. On the 23d of the same month he was appointed Surgeon, upon the resignation of Dr. Bradstreet, and soon returned to the West Indies. From this time to the 30th of April, 1801, he continued in the service, when he was honorably discharged under the Peace Establishment Act of March 3, 1801. The next year he studied with Dr. John Warren, and attended lectures at the Harvard Medical School, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Medicine in 1802. The same year he was made Master of Arts at Brown and Harvard Universities, and in 1810 received his degree of M. D. at Harvard. On the 26th of July, 1803, he married his second cousin Sally Shaw, daughter of Ichabod Shaw of Plymouth. He had, at this time, already entered upon active practice in Boston as a physician. For a few years he lived in Scott's Court, near Union Street (till the winter of 1810), afterwards in Hanover Street on the site of the present "Kast Building" (till 1831 or 1832), and still later in Tremont Street (present No. 161), opposite the Common. When he was about thirty years old his health was delicate, and it was thought that he would die of consumption; but he went back for a while to his father's farm, lived on a milk diet, and fully recovered.

In his profession Dr. Shurtleff was eminently successful, and his practice was, for many years, quite as extensive as that of any other physician in Boston. He was "distinguished by great natural sagacity, much good-humor, and excellent judgment." At about sixty he began to seek rest, and a few years later had almost entirely retired from active practice. He died in Boston on the 12th of April, 1847, in his seventy-third year.

Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff lived in Boston very nearly all the first half of this century. In his day everybody in the town knew him. His appearance was marked; he had a tall, powerful frame, slightly bowed in his later years, a noble head and face, with handsome and expressive features. Many of our older citizens remember him well, with his bandana handkerchief about his chin, as he drove through the streets visiting his patients. Many, too, remember his cheering smile and pleasant voice in the sick-room, and his kindly hand, equally ready to soothe pain or relieve misfortune. No one knew so many children as he did, nor was known by so many. They all liked him, and it was seldom that his chaise had not two or three of them in it when he drove out of town. He was cordial and strong in his friendship, and, like many warm-hearted men, pretty decided in his aversion. He was a just man; exact, but by no means hard; liking and practising accuracy in affairs, but always charitable and generous. "He was methodical, industrious, and successful, performing all the duties of life with fidelity and kindness. He felt and manifested a lively interest in the benevolent institutions of his day, and contributed generously to their support." He founded by a handsome gift the college which bears his name in Upper Alton, Illinois. In religion he was devout from habit and conviction from his youth, and in his age was an earnest but not intolerant member of the Baptist Church. In politics he was always a stanch Federalist. Practical and scientific husbandry interested him greatly, and had a large share of his attention as long as he lived. His farms at Winnisimmet and North Chelsea were models. He gave a great deal of time and thought to the improvement of the breed of cattle and sheep in this country, and was one of the earliest importers of Ayrshire stock. He had a strong taste for genealogical research, and industriously gathered a large amount of information in regard to the ancestors of others as well as his own. His memory was wonderfully full and accurate, and his use of language in composition elegant and vigorous. At the time of his death he was said to be the oldest honorary graduate of Harvard College and the oldest physician in Suffolk County. His membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society dates from November 15, 1846.

Sally Shaw, wife of Dr. Benjamin Shurtleff, was the daughter of Ichabod and Priscilla (Attwood) Shaw of Plymouth, was born in Plymouth, May 4, 1778, and died in Boston, January 20, 1845.

The children of Benjamin and Sally (Shaw) Shurtleff are as follows: —

Abby Atwood, born May 26, 1804.

Benjamin, born January 18, 1806; died August 17, 1865.

Sally Shaw, born September 5, 1808; died August 8, 1876.

Nathaniel Bradstreet, born June 29, 1810; died October 17, 1874.

Ann Shaw, born February 4, 1812; died December 1, 1812.

A son who died at birth, born November 4, 1823.

JOB DURFEE

Job Durfee was born in Tiverton, Rhode Island, September 20, 1790. He was a son of Thomas, born November 4, 1759, and died January 17, 1829, and of Mary, whose maiden surname was Louden, born August 13, 1753, and died in November, 1842.

Thomas Durfee was born and bred in Tiverton. While yet a lad he entered the military service of the State, and was in the battle of Rhode Island, fought August 29, 1778. At the session of the General Assembly held in October, 1778, he was advanced to the rank of Ensign. He seems to have acquired, without any special advantages, a very good education, and after some desultory study of the law he established himself in Tiverton as a lawyer. He was never eminent in his profession, but he acquired such knowledge of legal forms and principles as sufficed for the needs of his fellow-townsmen. He represented them frequently in the General Assembly, served occasionally in local town-offices, and from 1820 to 1829 was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Newport County. In politics he sided with the Republicans against the Federalists. But he was more a patriot than a partisan, and taught his son to consider it a duty to be always ready to serve his fellow-citizens. Though not a man of learning, he had some good books in law and literature, which he carefully read and digested. He was grave, dignified, thoughtful, with a taste for the occult and wonderful, shown by his dabbling in judicial astrology.* This trait is mentioned because it seems to be allied to the mystical proclivities of his son. Doubtless, however, the son inherited more of this side of his mind from his mother. She was a Newport lady, and brought with her to her country home the gentler breeding of the city. She was impressionable, affectionate, and devout, and sympathized in her religious views with the Quakers, though not of their sect. Her children, besides Job, were: Goodwin H., born July 10, 1779, and died July 30, 1796; Elizabeth, born October 28, 1781, married Samuel Warren, and died April 28, 1870; Lucy, born May 18, 1784, and died September 29, 1809; and Charles, born February 26, 1793, and died October 7, 1849. Job was born in a house on the Fall River road, about two miles north of the Stone Bridge. Soon after he was born his father removed to the house on Tiverton Heights, near Fort Barton, where he resided until his death. The view from this house is superbly beautiful. Mount Hope Bay, Seaconnet River, and Narragansett Bay, with their shores, headlands, and islands, dotted with homesteads, and rich with orchard, tilth, and meadow, lie in front of it, spreading out in picturesque variety of contour and grouping, north, west, and south, opening southwardly on the ocean. With this magnificent spectacle continually before his eyes, young Job early acquired the strong love of nature which is so conspicuous in his poetry, and which was always for him a source of great enjoyment.

A few words in regard to his social environment. Rural New England, seventy or eighty years ago, was very different socially from what it is to-day. There were then no railroads and no large manufactories. Agriculture was the dominant interest. Trade was less centralized then than now. Even in Tiverton there was a considerable commerce with the West Indies. The city, relatively to the country, was less attractive. Consequently men of mind and character, capable of large affairs, were content with rural occupations and enjoyments. This was so especially at the close of the Revolution, when hundreds of officers returned to their country homes. It was so in Tiverton. The cluster of houses below Tiverton Heights, around Howland's Ferry and Bridgeport, contained the home of Benjamin Howland, United States Senator from 1804 to 1809, and the home of Colonel John Cooke, who had performed valuable services in the Revolution, and was afterwards an energetic and enterprising merchant. The large and fertile farms lying to the north and south along the bay were owned and tilled by strong, masterful, and prosperous men, some of whom would have been notable in any community. Back from the bay, in Helbon Woods, lived a ruder class, mariners and day-laborers, often sensual and improvident, but racy with indigenous humor and eccentricity. The public school and the newspaper have been great educators, but they have educated too entirely away the luxuriant individuality of the olden times. Young Durfee grew up when the new order was beginning. He had himself a quick eye for personal peculiarities, and, while yet a boy, indulged his poetical vein in comic delineations of actual persons and events. He used to say the men of his youth resembled the characters in Shakspeare and Scott, and their descendants were insipid in comparison with them.

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* When his son Job was born he is said to have cast his horoscope, which disclosed peril by water. His son twice narrowly escaped drowning, — once by the upsetting of a sail-boat, and again, after his marriage, in attempting to cross the inlet in front of his house on the ice. The ice broke beneath him, and but for prompt assistance he would have perished.

Thomas Durfee was a man of moderate means, and could not give his son a liberal education without close economy. He often required the services of his son on the little farm from which he drew a part of his support. There was no classical school in the neighborhood. The son had himself to earn a portion of the money required to prepare him for college. His progress in scholarship was therefore slow, being embarrassed by many obstacles. But he was sound in mind and body, full of hope and energy, so that difficulties were not discouragements. In his later years he looked back to those days of mingled toil and study as the happiest of his life. And indeed his experience was neither exceptional nor without its advantages. Such an experience gives the mind a practical cast, and is a great safeguard against bookish illusions.

In 1809, after some preparatory study in Bristol, Mr. Durfee entered Brown University, then under the presidency of Dr. Asa Messer, a man more eminent for capacity than scholarship. The President was a type of the college. The discipline was lax, and the instruction was invigorating rather than critical or comprehensive. The college, however, besides instruction, gave opportunity for reading and the stimulus of intellectual competition and companionship, which in the work of education is often more influential than instruction itself.

Among Mr. Durfee's classmates, who have since acquired distinction, there were Zachariah Allen, Joseph K. Angell, Timothy G. Coffin, Romeo Elton, Enoch Pond, and John Ruggles. To Elton, with whom he contracted a lifelong friendship, he afterwards dedicated his poem of "What Cheer." He graduated in 1813, having for his Commencement part a poem entitled "The Powers of Fancy." The year he graduated he delivered a Fourth of July oration in Tiverton, which was published.

The next Commencement he read a poem before the Society of the United Brothers, entitled "The Vision of Petrarch," afterwards published at their request. It represents Petrarch at Rome, disheartened by the disorders of his times. The Genius of Poetry appears, and shows him in a vision the forms of future poets, who pass before him sounding their lyres, while various natural scenes, symbolical of their different styles of poetry, arise and disappear. The poem was musical and elegant, but too slight for permanent effect.

He was admitted to the bar at Newport, March 4, 1817. He had studied law with his father in Tiverton, and after his admission he continued to live there and practise his profession, — a petty sort of practice for the most part, affording no fame and small profit. A little conveyancing, a little collecting, now and then an action to settle a title or a boundary, or a prosecution for some trivial crime or tort, — such was the ordinary run of business. Whatever interest it had resulted not from the business itself, but from the persons and circumstances connected with it. It was no school for a great lawyer. Fortunately, however, it was easy for him to master the fundamental principles of jurisprudence, and to apply them judiciously without depending much on precedent. Of course he had abundant leisure, and he devoted it to literature and politics. Scott and Byron were then at the zenith of their fame. Animated by their success, he turned for poetic material to aboriginal history. A classmate, writing to him soon after he left college, addresses him as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. It was some years yet, however, before he found a fit subject for his verse.

In the spring of 1816 he was elected Representative to the General Assembly, and re-elected semi-annually until the spring of 1821. The Assembly then held four sessions a year, — in May, June, October, and February, the longest seldom exceeding two weeks. It consisted of ten Senators and seventy-two Representatives, prominent among whom were Elisha R. Potter the elder, Nathan F. Dixon the elder, Nathaniel Searle, and Benjamin Hazard. Mr. Durfee does not appear to have taken the initiative in any important matter until June, 1818, when he introduced a resolution to tax the banks of the State in consideration of their privileged process, and advocated his resolution in a speech of so much power that Mr. Searle moved its postponement to the next session, alleging that Mr. Durfee had come prepared to support it, while the other members were unable to meet the arguments already adduced. The resolution was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Durfee was chairman, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of abolishing the process altogether. For some reason not explained the committee does not appear to have reported until February, 1820. The report then made recommended the entire repeal of the process. Mr. Durfee was its author, and urged its adoption in a speech of extraordinary power and eloquence. The report and the speech were both published *in extenso*, and were greatly admired.* An act abolishing the process was passed, to go into effect at the end of the year. In securing its passage Mr. Durfee had to contend single-handed against the ablest debaters of the House, and is therefore entitled to almost as much credit for the boldness as for the brilliancy of his efforts.

The bank process, so called, was a summary process for the collection of debts. By virtue of it the banks had the privilege of suing their debtors in the Supreme Court as well as in the Court of Common Pleas, the writs being issuable until within six days of the sitting of the court, and to have the estate, real and personal, of their debtors attached and held to satisfy the judgments when recovered. The debtors were allowed to defend the actions, but without any right of appeal or continuance. The ordinary process, on the other hand, permitted individuals to bring their actions only in the Court of Common Pleas at least twenty days before court, and did not permit the property of the debtor to be attached if his person could be found. The action was also subject to continuance and appeal in favor of the debtor, so that years might elapse before the creditor could get his execution. The effect was to give the banks a preference over other creditors, thus enhancing the value of their claims; to impair private credit by obliging debtors always to consider the banks first; to embarrass the operations of business; to encourage usury and extortion; and to diminish the value of property by exposing it to compulsory sales, accelerated possibly by the rapacity of unscrupulous and speculative bank-directors. All these and other mischiefs were effectively exposed and denounced by Mr. Durfee in his report and speech. The process is now a thing of the past, perhaps too much so to interest the reader; but nevertheless it furnishes a chapter in the history of corporate privileges which may be read with profit even in our day.

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* Providence Patriot of March 4 and April 1 and 8, 1820.

Mr. Durfee was, like his father, a Republican, but in 1816–20 the General Assembly had little to do with pure politics. One question, however, which afterwards convulsed the State, was occasionally emergent, namely, the question of suffrage. It came up under cover of a resolution and an act looking toward a convention to frame a new constitution, and Mr. Durfee voted with the friends of a freer suffrage.

In 1820 he was elected a Representative to the Seventeenth Congress. The election was a sort of ovation. Nathaniel Hazard, the then incumbent, had been renominated by the Republican caucus. He was, however, a man of better mind than morals, and had scandalized a portion of his constituents by his misbehavior. These, without regard to party, united upon Mr. Durfee, and, almost without his consent, triumphantly carried his election. He was subsequently re-elected to the Eighteenth Congress with but slight opposition.

He has not had due credit for his congressional career. He entered Congress immediately after the adoption of the Missouri Compromise. No great measure was pending to arouse him to eloquence. He was modest, moderate, not a ready debater, and disliked speaking for display.

The high expectations excited by his speech on the bank process were not fully met. He made two set speeches, however, which, though not eloquent, were powerful in argumentation. Both of them bear marks of careful elaboration. And it was not alone in his speeches that he made himself felt; for he was as anxious to serve as to shine, and was noted for his readiness to oblige his constituents. The Hon. Dutee J. Pearce, his successor in Congress, in some remarks made at the time of his death, bore ready testimony to the excellent impression which he had made at Washington.

His first speech, delivered January 17, 1822, was on the new Apportionment Bill. Under the old apportionment Rhode Island had two Representatives. The new bill fixed the ratio at 42,000. This gave her only one, and left a large fraction unrepresented, her population being 83,000. Mr. Durfee favored a numerous representation, urging that, in consequence of the great and growing diversification of industry, the interests to be represented were constantly multiplying and becoming more complicated. He also urged that the population had not only increased, but had spread itself over double the extent of territory formerly occupied, and that for this reason it required a larger number to represent it than would be necessary if it were more compact. And, finally, he advocated strengthening the legislative to counterbalance the growing power of the executive branch of the government. So convincing were his arguments that the ratio was lowered to 40,000, which left Rhode Island her representation undiminished. His next speech, delivered February 4, 1823, was on a new tariff bill confessedly framed for protection. He was not inimical to protection when necessary for the preservation of existing interests, but he did not think it good policy to build up one branch of industry at the expense of another, or to force capital which was already profitably invested into new and experimental employments. He thought the country so prosperous that it was more likely to be injured than benefited by the change proposed. He expressed these views with an affluence of learning and illustration which evinced a profound study of the subject. Unfortunately for him his constituents did not accept his opinions. In October, 1823, the General Assembly passed a resolution requesting the Rhode Island members of Congress to use their best endeavors to aid the manufacturing interests of the United States. Mr. Durfee, at that time, held to the democratic doctrine that it is the duty of a representative, on questions of expediency, to obey the instructions of his constituents. As a consequence he was completely *hors de combat* throughout the long and extremely able debate on the tariff at the ensuing session, and was constrained to give his silent vote for a measure which he thought more likely to do harm than good.

Besides these more elaborate speeches he addressed the House several times, and once at considerable length on the Fortification Bill, which contained an appropriation of $50,000 to begin the fortification of Newport harbor, and he succeeded in carrying the appropriation through without reduction. His last noticeable act in Congress was casting, jointly with his colleague, the congressional vote of Rhode Island, as her electoral vote had been cast, in favor of John Quincy Adams for President, the presidential question having fallen into the House. He was a candidate for re-election to the Nineteenth Congress, but was defeated.

From October, 1826, until May, 1829, he was again in the General Assembly, and was Speaker of the House from May, 1827, to May, 1829. He does not appear to have distinguished himself by any important speech or measure during this period. In fact, while he knew well how to rise with the occasion, he did not know so well how to create the occasion for rising. In May, 1829, he declined a re-election, and remained in private life, occupied with professional, literary, and agricultural pursuits, until May, 1833, when he was once more returned to the General Assembly, and, at the meeting of the two houses for the purpose of election, was chosen an Assistant Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, then consisting of three judges, of which his former colleague in Congress, the Hon. Samuel Eddy, was Chief.

His life from 1826 to 1833 was a life of seclusion, into which even his services in the General Assembly scarcely introduced the element of publicity. It was, however, no unimportant part of his life. It was a period of moral and intellectual growth, during which his mind was broadening, deepening, and clarifying itself. In politics he retained his party connections while emancipating himself from party prejudices. "The truth is," he wrote at this time, "a man may perform equal service to his country in either party, granting that the party must, from the nature of things, exist. A man honestly devoted to his country, or, what is the same thing, the great cause of truth, is useful everywhere. He imbues those with whom he is connected with something of his own character. I will cherish the desire of attaining this point of usefulness; and whilst doing this, if I see others who have already been pre-eminently successful, no matter where they are, my mind will do them voluntary homage. I can freely say to them, Go on and prosper to the full extent of every good purpose. If my situation in society forbids my cooperation, I can, at least, use my feeble efforts to mitigate the violence of opposition." And this was no momentary mood, superinduced by disappointment, but a natural development of his mind.

His home at Quaket was off the public road, on a bypath, and so completely by itself that his next-door neighbor was half a mile away. He had access to no library but his own, which was small for a student and gathered mainly at hap-hazard. His farm and his profession occupied only a part of his time. He had to supply the lack of books and society by creating a world of his own, and, accordingly, he resorted again to aboriginal and colonial history. For him the charm of antiquarianism did not consist in recovering some lost date or random scrap of information, but in mousing among musty relics and records until the dead past came to life again in his imagination. He read and re-read the story of colonial life until his memory was haunted with the shadowy shapes of Puritans and Sachems, and, to use his own expression, he "could almost hear the old fellows talk." He again felt the poetic impulse, and wrote, in octosyllabic verse, a romantic tale of life and love among the Indians under the name of "Ousamequin," supposed to have been better suited for popular effect than "What Cheer." The author, however, lost faith in it and committed it to the flames.

He next meditated a poem on Roger Williams. At first he purposed writing it in a sort of serio-comic strain, after the manner of Shenstone's "Schoolmistress," lighting up its sterner features with a naïve Quixotism. It was not to be published, but only written for his own entertainment. "I mean to finish it," he writes, "in these vacant hours, and lay it aside, and it may possibly, some century or two hence, find its way into the cabinet of some antiquary who will show it to his associates and inquire who it could be, in an age so enlightened, that would devote so much time to raising such a monument of trumpery to the memory of Roger Williams." But the subject grew upon him. He gradually perceived that its more sombre and serious, were its more poetical and heroic aspects. His patriotism was enkindled, and he now wished to give his poem an enduring hold upon the popular imagination, and so "contribute something to a genuine Rhode Island feeling." It was in this view that the poem was finally composed. A small edition of it, under the title of "What Cheer; or, Roger Williams in Banishment," was published at Providence by subscription in 1832.

In this country the poem, not having had the good fortune to come out under the auspices of a popular publisher, has attracted but little attention from the professed critics. But many cultivated persons, reading it for their own enjoyment without a thought of criticism, have expressed their hearty admiration of it, and it has without question served the author's purpose of fostering a Rhode Island feeling much beyond what might be inferred from its limited circulation. In England it has had a more flattering reception. It was there reviewed in the "London Eclectic Review" for July, 1838. The review was from the pen of John Foster, the celebrated essayist. It gave a minute analysis of the poem, showing forth its merits and lauding it in glowing terms. And in 1840 it was republished at Leeds with a recommendatory preface, still more encomiastic, by the Rev. John Eustace Giles.

In order to appraise the poem correctly it is necessary not to misconceive it. It is founded on a well-known historical event. This circumscribes the imagination of the poet, and imparts a prosaic tinge adverse to the ideal or the romantic. It is, therefore, pitched in a low key, is realistic in treatment, simple and familiar in language. It abounds in graphic touches, but lacks the ornamental imagery, and the heightened or grandiose manner which are proper to verse. It is marred by faults of rhyme and metre such as the poet, if his material had been more plastic, might easily have avoided. It is epical and objective, and so the poetical reader misses the intense personal emotion which he has learned to look for in modern poetry. It is not, however, merely versified history. It is a realistic or naturalistic narrative poem. The hero or protagonist is the martyr and the apostle of a great and epoch-making idea. This idea is sometimes obtruded in too abstract a form, but it is generally embodied in the hero as the regnant motive of his actions. It thus becomes a living element of the poem, harmonizing and elevating it. The subject is Roger Williams in banishment. We see him driven from his happy home by cruel bigotry, wandering in the dead of winter through a dismal wilderness, and negotiating with barbarous chiefs for a refuge from persecution, yet scattering around him everywhere, with patriarchal benignity, his unstinted "largesses of love and light." The poet's familiarity with aboriginal history here stands him in good stead, and he invents a variety of scenes, incidents, and adventures which are in a high degree unique and original. John Foster, in his critique, notes the affluence of exciting incident and the rapid though quiet flow of the narration as striking merits. The characters, without being highly typical, are well discriminated and well sustained. There are no female characters except the wife of Williams, and she plays a passive part. This is a great want. The introduction of woman as an independent actor or cause of action would have complicated and idealized the plot, and so would have added immensely to the interest. The poem is illustrated by notes which contain a great deal of valuable historical and antiquarian information.

The impulse which he derived from his historical researches was not wholly expended in "What Cheer." In 1836 he delivered, in Providence, two lectures on the "History of the Subjection and Extermination of the Narragansetts," and a year or two later he delivered in Boston a lecture on "The Idea of the Supernatural among the Indians." In the first two lectures he attempts to write the history of the Narragansetts as it might have been written by one of themselves. This, while it does not impair the accuracy, adds much to the spirit and vivacity of the effort. The other lecture is interesting for containing the first distinct traces of his genius for metaphysical speculation. It is, in fact, a fine exhibition of his mind at a time when its poetical, its historical, and its philosophical tendencies were most nearly in equilibrium. The three lectures are contained in the edition of his collected works published after his death.

It has been stated that in 1833 he was elected Assistant Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, of which Samuel Eddy was then the Chief. In June, 1835, Mr. Eddy retired, and he was elected to succeed him. He continued to be re-elected annually during the existence of the government under the old charter, namely, to May, 1843. When the government was organized under the new Constitution he was again elected to the same office, and continued to discharge its duties until his death.

He was not specially distinguished during the earlier years of his service as Chief Justice, though he acquitted himself with credit. Perhaps the peculiarity which first drew attention to him was his delivery, year by year, of a series of charges to the grand jury which, instead of being simply dry expositions of positive law, were thoughtful but popular dissertations upon the philosophy and ethics of jurisprudence. Several of these have been published in his collected works. He also attracted attention by the impressiveness of his addresses to prisoners convicted of murder on whom he had to pronounce the sentence of death. He always approached this duty with the most profound emotion, though he was a firm believer in capital punishment. There was no provision for reporting the decisions of the court until shortly before his death, and his name therefore is not conspicuous in the Rhode Island Reports. His few published opinions are clear, compact, logical. He was averse to an indiscriminate multiplication of precedents, believing that the practice of deciding according to the weight of authority rather than on principle was deleterious. This was not because he undervalued the sages of the law: on the contrary, he admired the massive good sense of a Mansfield or a Marshall, but he looked to them for enlightenment and not dictation. His advice to a young friend probably indicates his own method. "First bring your case," he said, "within the sphere of some settled principle or maxim, and then reason it out, taking care never to come in conflict with common-sense. It will be time enough afterwards to hunt up precedents and authorities to confirm or illustrate your reasoning."

The most signal of his judicial services was his exposition of the law of treason during the Dorr Rebellion, so called, and in the trials for treason which followed it. Until 1843 the State had had no constitution, but remained under its colonial charter. The right of suffrage was confined to freeholders and their oldest sons. Prior to 1840 several attempts were made to extend the suffrage and to supersede the charter by a constitution. These attempts, initiated in the General Assembly, were unsuccessful. In 1840–41 the attempt was renewed by an appeal to the people without the initiative of the General Assembly. The leaders of the movement maintained that the people were absolutely sovereign, and could change their form of government whenever a majority of the adult male citizens of the State elected to do so, either with or without law. They accordingly got together a caucus or convention which framed a constitution and submitted it to the popular vote. All American citizens permanently resident in the State and over twenty-one years old were invited to vote for or against it, either in person or by proxy. The polls were opened December 27, 1841, and were kept open six days, the first three for votes in person and the last three for proxies. Fourteen thousand votes were claimed to have been received, 13,944 for and 56 against the constitution, and the constitution was claimed to have had the approval of a

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majority of all the adult male citizens in the State. It was proclaimed the supreme law. The next step was to hold elections and organize a government under it. This was done, Thomas W. Dorr being made Governor. There were thus two sets of functionaries, each claiming to represent the State. Civil war was inevitable, and it came with swift and utter defeat for Dorr and his adherents.

It was impossible for Chief Justice Durfee to be merely a spectator of this strange and exciting drama. We have seen he had himself once favored a freer suffrage. The movement, therefore, was not in itself offensive to him, and for a while he was content to observe its extravagances without condemning them. But it was only for a while. As soon as the suffragists avowed their purpose to proceed independently of law, and invite the people to vote in their so-called primary or sovereign capacity, he recognized the revolutionary drift of the movement, and deprecated it to his friends, though, being a judge, he did not hasten to make his opinion public. But when, after the adoption of the "People's Constitution," he saw what fatal mischiefs were brewing, he thought it his duty as a conservator of the peace to denounce them. In reply to a letter from prominent citizens to the Court, he and his associates on the bench declared that, in their opinion, the "People's Constitution," having been adopted without law, was utterly void, and that any attempt to carry it into effect by force would be treason against the State, if not against the United States. He also delivered in several places an address in which, with the solemnity of a prophet disburdening his mind, he proclaimed the gravity of the crisis to his fellow-citizens. And finally, in a charge to the grand jury on the law of treason, he not only elucidated the law, but so movingly pointed out the dangers and the duties of the hour that strong men are said to have wept as they listened.

The question which the suffragists put to the law-and-order men, and which the law-and-order men did not always find it easy to answer, was this: If the people are sovereign why have not they, or the major part of them, the right, regardless of law, to change their form of government whenever they choose to do so? The answer given by Chief Justice Durfee was that it is only under the law that the people are sovereign, and that without law they are a mere aggregation of individuals, having no political rights. The law gives them unity by making them a State, and it is as a political unit or State, and not as individuals, that they are sovereign. When, therefore, the major part of them undertake to change the form of government without law, inasmuch as such change is an act of sovereignty, they undertake to do what can be done only by the State, or with its sanction duly given, which is law; and if they undertake to go still further, and carry the change into effect by levying war against the State, they are guilty of treason and rebellion.

The doctrine, thus enunciated, was accepted by the friends of law and order as correct. It was acted on by the charter government. It was subsequently applied by the court in the trial of Thomas W. Dorr for treason. In that trial the votes given for the "people's constitution" were offered in evidence to show its adoption. They were ruled out. The court held that it was for them to take notice of what is or was the constitution, as a matter of law, without proof, and that the question of adoption was political and not judicial, for the legislature and not the court. The same view was taken by Webster in his celebrated argument in the case of Luther *v.* Borden,* and was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. Webster is said to have read the charge in the Dorr trial with great admiration, and he quoted it as conclusive in his argument.

In addition to his judicial labors, Chief Justice Durfee found time, in the closing years of his life, for some literary work of a high order. The productions of this period were: An oration on "The Influence of Scientific Discovery and Invention on Social and Political Progress," delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, September 6, 1843; "The Panidea; or, An Omnipresent Reason considered as the Creative and Sustaining Logos," published anonymously in 1846; and "A Discourse delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, January 13, 1847." The oration and the discourse are the most popular of his writings. In the oration he shows how the line of progress in history follows the wake of scientific discovery and invention, and is in the last analysis more dependent on them than on civil or political institutions. In the discourse he describes the evolution of the Rhode Island idea of government, and vindicates to Rhode Island, as the first to embody the idea in her fundamental law, the proud position which she is entitled to hold in universal history. He has written nothing else which so pulsates with his personality. "The Panidea" is a metaphysical treatise. He regarded it as the great work of his life. It is, therefore, entitled to fuller consideration.

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* 7 Howard U. S. Sup. Ct. R. I.

"The Panidea" is a system of pure idealism. The author claims, however, that it is built up by induction from a fact, and not excogitated wholly out of abstractions. If, says he, two coins are put before the eyes so that the coins are seen but not what separates them, the two appear as one. This is because the separating space or extension is for the percipient annihilated. The experiment shows that if matter were denuded of space and extension, the whole physical universe would dwindle to a point. But what are space and extension? Space is demonstrably not matter, but the imaginary mask or mould which it wears for the mind, and which would remain for the mind if matter were abolished. And extension, the author proves or thinks he proves, is but a form or species of space. Hence it follows that matter in all its forms, living and lifeless, is as matter phenomenal, but in its essence, in itself, it is thought; being in fact, as the author puts it, the thoughts and the imagery of the thoughts which fill the mind of God. It is on the basis of this conclusion that he erects his system. The system brings creation everywhere into contact with the Creator, and represents the history of mankind as a process of assimilation which is gradually reconciling the human with the Divine will. It emphatically affirms the personality of God, though it approaches pantheism. It claims for the soul a limited free-will and a conscious immortality. But it cannot be epitomized here. It must be read to be understood. It perhaps presents no new ideas, but it opens new vistas among old ones, letting in upon them a fuller light. John Milton Mackie, in an article in the "American Review" for May, 1848, calls it "the most remarkable metaphysical treatise written in this country since Jonathan Edwards's 'Inquiry into the Nature of the Will.'" Rowland G. Hazard, himself a distinguished metaphysician, is equally laudatory; and Theodore Parker, in a letter to the author, says of it, "Many trains of thought which it presents are wholly new to me, though the separate thoughts thereof are not unfamiliar." It is unfortunate in its terminology. Its very title is a Gorgon's head to most readers. It was, nevertheless, carefully written, its neologisms being used for the sake of clearness and precision, and it abounds in passages which are as admirable in diction as in thought.

If it were possible to trace the genesis of his philosophy it would be instructive to do so. It can be only imperfectly done. It is said he has much in common with Fichte and Schelling, but he knew those great thinkers only slightly and at second hand. In college he studied Stewart, and there is evidence that, then or afterwards, he read Locke and Hartley and Brown. Doubtless he profited by them, but their philosophy is clearly too antipodal to his own to have suggested it. From time to time he fell in with the philosophical writings of Swedenborg, and to them, unquestionably, he was considerably indebted. Indeed it was a Swedenborgian saying, "The Divine fills all things without space," which, he has said, first started him on the trail of some of his subtlest speculations. This was when or soon after he was in Congress. Later in life he read Cousin, studied a short history of metaphysical thought, pored over the pages of Coleridge, and felt the influence of that transcendental renaissance which, thirty-five or forty years ago, quickened New England. From these sources he gathered the germs which, fostered by years of meditation, finally fruited in his system.

In considering the sources of his philosophy his way of life is not to be forgotten. On his secluded farm week followed week with little variation. His mind naturally turned inwards, and found in reflection a great resource. The habit of metaphysical cogitation thus easily grew into an absorbing passion and pursuit. The enjoyment of nature refreshed without distracting him. It rather mingled with his meditations, touching them with poetic traits, and sometimes even lifting them into unison with that high mood in which the discursive yields to the imaginative reason, and logic loses itself in reverie and mystical intuition. "The Panidea" preserves traces of such moods. They were, however, not a common visitation. He was an abstract reasoner, not a seer. His city friends used to wonder at his withdrawal from the world, and say his country life was a sort of vegetation. They were mistaken. His brooding mind, incubating its deep philosophy, never vegetated. It rather consumed itself in an excess of unrespited thinking.

In his later years Chief Justice Durfee watched the course of general politics with a deep but anxious interest. He saw the masses becoming not only more powerful, but more conscious of their power, and more reckless in the use of it. In such facts as the election of Harrison, the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, and the prevalence of filibusterism, he discovered the symptoms of a demoralization that alarmed him. So strongly was he impressed with the irregular action of the federal government, under the bias of irresponsible influences, that he maintained that it had been practically revolutionized in everything but the judiciary. As a measure of conservative reform he suggested having the higher offices, State and national, filled by electors chosen by the people but sworn to use their own judgment in filling them.

For several years he had suffered from infirmities which in the summer of 1847 suddenly grew more dangerous. He foresaw the result and awaited it with composure. To a personal and political friend who expressed his sorrow, he said, "Yes, my disease is rapidly approaching a crisis; but to me it matters little which way the balance turns, and I do not know that it does to others. I have done what I thought to be my duty." The sight of his friend doubtless reminded him of his public life, and he probably uttered the concluding words with special reference to that part of it which had been so bitterly arraigned by the friends of Mr. Dorr. The next day, July 26, 1847, he died at his home. His malady was a complicated disease of the stomach. He is buried in the family burying-ground on Quaket. His epitaph, dictated by himself, states his parentage, dates of birth and death, and the period of his service as Chief Justice, and concludes with the representation of an anchor and the words, "HIS TRUST WAS AND IS IN GOD."

He was five feet eight inches in height, portly in person, and physically indolent. His face was massive and heavy, but powerful in the expression of strong emotion. He was generally taciturn, especially in mixed companies, but he loved a good talk, seasoned with mirth and humor, and in his happier moods with congenial friends few men could converse more delightfully or enrich the conversation with weightier remarks. He was singularly modest, unassuming, candid, and charitable in his judgments of others. A delicate regard for the feelings and rights of others never deserted him. He was accessible to anger, but harbored no malice. Cruelty in all its forms was hateful to him. Nothing sooner roused his ire than to hear a gunner on his farm popping at innocent birds. Such a person was pretty sure to get an immediate invitation to depart. In all things, small as well as great, it was impossible for him to be other than truthful and just. He belonged to no church. His religion is summed up in his epitaph.

Mr. Durfee was a man of strong domestic affections, simple and familiar with his children, though, from absorption in his own thoughts, less companionable than many fathers. He liked to have his children about him, whether they were engaged in sport or study; and so great were his powers of concentration and abstraction that, however occupied in reading, writing, or thinking, he was seldom annoyed by them. The picture of his home life given in the dedication to "What Cheer" is true to fact. When his sons, preparing for college, were at home, he made it a point to read with them their daily lessons in Cicero or Virgil, and highly enjoyed this renewal of his classical studies. His household circle remained during his life unbroken save by the death of his youngest child, a lovely girl, singularly sweet in disposition, and singularly harmonious in her moral and intellectual development, for the loss of whom he mourned with a most touching and tender sorrow.

In 1820 he married Judith Borden, born June 14, 1796, and still living. She was a daughter of Simeon Borden, born in 1759 and died November 27, 1811, and of Amey, a daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Briggs, born in 1765 and died May 28, 1817.* She inherited from her mother an estate on Quaket Neck in Tiverton, where, a few years after marriage, Mr. Durfee built him a mansion house in which he resided until death. Seven children were the fruit of the marriage, all but two of whom are still living. They were Lucy, born July 1, 1821, and married in 1846, to Thomas Hicks Borden, late of Tiverton, deceased; Amey Borden, born January 18, 1824; Thomas, born February 6, 1826; Mary, born October 23, 1827, and married in 1869 to Samuel West, M. D., late of Tiverton, deceased; Simeon Borden, born September 2, 1829, and died February 23, 1858; Sarah Anne, born July 10, 1831; and Julia Maria, born May 24, 1834, and died September 24, 1845.

In 1845 he was honored with the degree of LL.D., by Brown University. He was a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, and a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, having been admitted May 25, 1847. Besides the notices of him or of his works, which have been incidentally referred to already, particular mention should be made of a discourse delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, January 18, 1848, on his character and writings, by the Hon. Rowland G. Hazard, which was published at the request of the Society. His complete works, with a prefatory memoir by his son, were published at Providence by Gladding and Proud in 1849.

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* The other children besides Judith were, Anne, born September 14, 1790, married Clark Chace, and died December 27, 1852; Simeon, born January 29, 1798, and died October 28, 1856; Nathaniel Briggs, born April 15, 1801, and died April 10, 1865; and Sarah Briggs, born December 27, 1803, married Pardon Gray Seabury, and still living.

LUTHER WAIT

Mr. Wait was born in Ipswich, Essex County, Massachusetts, February 14, 1814. He was a descendant in the seventh generation of Sergeant Thomas Waite, one of the early settlers of Ipswich. The exact date at which Thomas Waite came to Ipswich is not known, but he appears by the records to have been here as early as 1650. In 1684 he obtained from the town a grant of land for a house-lot for his second son John, who was married the next year to Kathren Carroll, and in the house then built by him Luther Wait was born.

Mr. Wait was descended from John Waite, through Jonadab Waite, born 1690, married Hannah Adams, 1725; John Waite, born 1729, married Sarah Kimball, 1749; √ John Wait, born 1752, married Eunice Hale of Newbury, 1773; Joseph Wait (his father), born 1781, married Rebekah Dodge, 1802. His mother was the daughter of Abraham Dodge, who held the rank of Captain in the Revolutionary army.

Mr. Wait was educated in the common schools of his native town. In his early manhood he became connected with his father in the shoe business, and continued in that business until failing health compelled him to relinquish it. After a long illness he died of consumption at his father's house, where he had always resided, October 20, 1847, aged thirty-three years eight months and six days.

I cannot better describe his character than by quoting from an obituary notice written soon after his death. "As a son his filial affection was characterized by tenderness and intensity. When he found that the unyielding hand of disease was upon him, and that he must soon go down to the grave, no thought connected with earth gave him so much pain as that he could not have the privilege of smoothing the path of his aged parents as they walked down the rugged steeps of declining life. As a brother he was distinguished for an ardent and disinterested devotion to the interests of those to whom he sustained that relation. As a friend he was remarkable for frankness and for the strength of his attachments. As a neighbor he was distinguished for generosity and benevolence. The poor and the suffering ever found in him a friend ready to sympathize with them and to extend to them a helping hand; and among no class is his loss more deeply felt than among those who feel the withering hand of poverty, for in him they have lost one whose presence ever brought cheerfulness to their hearts even amidst their sufferings. The blessing of the poor was upon him while he lived, and their tears were shed around his bier. As a man of business he was prompt, energetic, and honorable in all his dealings. As a citizen he was prominent and efficient in whatever pertained to the interests of the community, and several of the most useful public buildings in this town stand as monuments to his persevering devotion to her interests. Common schools found in him a devoted and efficient friend and supporter. The last public act of his life was devoted to their interests."

He had all his life taken great interest in antiquarian researches, and was an early member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, being admitted June 1, 1847. No one was probably better acquainted with the early history and traditions of Ipswich than himself. After sickness had laid him aside from active life he occupied himself with studying the old Ipswich records, and they beguiled many an hour of weariness and suffering. He contributed some articles on the early Ipswich settlers to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, and had nearly completed a manuscript record of all the names found on the Ipswich records for the first hundred years after its settlement.

SAMUEL JOHN CARR

Dr. Carr was the only son of the Rev. John Carr, a Baptist clergyman of Grahamville in the State of South Carolina. The father was born May 13, 1754, probably in Berkeley County, Virginia. Before settling at Grahamville he preached in Savannah, Georgia, where he was one of the directors of the Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, and raised nearly three thousand dollars for religious purposes. He died in Grahamville about the year 1826. He married Mrs. Miller, a widow. They had three daughters and one son, the subject of this sketch.

Samuel was born in Grahamville in 1802. Before he was twenty-two years old, as we learn from a letter of his father, written March 19, 1825, to his aunt, Mrs. Sarah Boggs of Back Creek, Virginia, he had travelled in Europe and "learned the French. Portuguese, and Spanish languages." About the year 1828, a year or two after his father's death, he went to Baltimore, Maryland, and became a student in the School of Medicine of the University of Maryland, under Dr. John Beale Davidge, Professor of Anatomy. While at the University he fought a duel with a fellow-student, Bond Martin, whom he killed. The duel is said to have grown out of some rivalry between the two young men. This caused him to leave the University, and it is supposed he never lost the remembrance of this sad event, for in his later years his manner is represented as being "subdued and melancholy."

On the 30th of September, 1828, he married Miss Mary Elizabeth Polk, a step-daughter of Professor Davidge. He was a warm supporter of General Jackson, and, soon after the inauguration of that eminent man as President, he received from him the appointment of clerk in the office of the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, being employed in the settlement of the Post-Office accounts. He commenced service here March 14, 1829, and held the office till his appointment as United States Consul at Tangier, Morocco, August 10, 1831. He held the consulate till 1832, his successor being appointed on the 21st of June in that year.

After his return to the United States he resumed his medical studies at the University of Maryland, and graduated from that institution with the degree of M. D. in 1834. He then settled at Alexandria, Louisiana, on the Red River, where he practised medicine for about two years; after which he purchased a sugar plantation at Point Coupee, Louisiana, on the Mississippi. After planting five or six years he returned to Washington, D. C. On the 7th of February, 1842, he was appointed Military Storekeeper at the United States Arsenal, Pikesville, Maryland. Here he died October 24, 1847, aged forty-five.

Dr. Carr was a man of varied talents and of a most generous disposition. His tastes were decidedly literary, and he is represented by his acquaintances to have been "an elegant scholar." His friend, the Hon. William P. Maulesby of Westminster, Maryland, thus writes to the Hon. Dr. Lewis H. Steiner of Frederick, Maryland, concerning him: "Dr. Carr's scholarship embraced the classics of Ancient Greece and Rome, as well as of more modern England, and a familiarity with the Spanish and French languages. His manner and bearing were those of the old-school gentleman. His peculiar and unselfish devotion to his wife, generally supposed to have had some connection with the unhappy incident in his early life before alluded to, seemed to cast upon his later years a tinge of romance, which elicited a respectful tenderness from those with whom he came in contact."

Dr. Carr had five children, namely, 1st, Elizabeth Troup, born January 18, 1830; 2d, John, born December 6, 1832, died April 29, 1833; 3d, Charles J., born March 8. 1834; 4th, Rebecca, born November 11, 1837, died May 18, 1838; 5th, Josiah, born November 21, 1839, died January, 1841.

His eldest daughter, Elizabeth T., married a son of James Brown, a banker, and died in 1849, without issue.

His son, Charles J., was thrice married. By his second wife, a daughter of J. Marion Sims, M. D., the distinguished surgeon, founder of the Woman's Hospital, New York City, he had two children, a son, Addis Emmet Carr, and a daughter, Constance. By his third wife he had several children. He died in 1877, being killed by the kick of a horse which he had purchased, and while he was examining it.

Addis Emmet Carr, grandson of Dr. Carr, in 1873, when eleven years old, accompanied his grandmother on a voyage around the world, and published a volume about it entitled "All the Way Round; or, What a Boy saw and heard on his Way around the World."

Dr. Carr's wife, to whom, as has been said, he was singularly devoted, remained his widow till 1866, when she married the Hon. David Dudley Field, with whom she made the tour round the world, of which her grandson published the account before mentioned. She died of heart-disease in Baltimore in 1876.

A portrait of Dr. Carr, said to be a good likeness, was, in February, 1880, in the possession of his grand-niece, Mrs. H. D. Burnett of Grahamville, South Carolina, to whom it was left on his death by her uncle, General Howard, a nephew of Dr. Carr.

Dr. Carr was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, June 17, 1845.

The writer of this sketch is indebted for his facts to William C. Howard, Esq., of Grahamville, South Carolina, whose mother was a sister of Dr. Carr; Mrs. George Harrison of Baltimore, Maryland, a sister of his wife; the Hon. William P. Maulesby of Westminster, Maryland; the Hon. Lewis H. Steiner, M. D., of Frederick, Maryland; William H. Winder, Esq.; the Hon. David Dudley Field, the Rev. Henry M. Field, D. D., and J. Marion Sims, M. D., of New York City; Professor S. C. Chew of the University of Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland; Sevellon A. Brown, Esq., Chief Clerk in the Department of State; and the Hon. Jacob H. Ela, Fifth Auditor in the Treasury Department, Washington, District of Columbia.

JAMES KENT

James Kent, the subject of the present memoir, was born in the precinct of Fredericksburgh, in the Colony of New York, July 31, 1763.

His father, Moss Kent, was a lawyer of respectability, who filled the office of County Judge for the County of Dutchess. His mother, Hannah, was a daughter of Dr. Uriah Rogers, a licensed preacher, settled in the town of Norwalk in Connecticut. Mr. Moss Kent had three children: James, the eldest; Moss, who died unmarried; and Hannah, afterwards Mrs. Platt.

On the death of his mother, which took place in the year 1770, James was taken into the family of his maternal grandfather, and received the rudiments of education at the academy in Norwalk. He was fitted for and entered Yale College in 1777. The disturbance caused by the war broke up the College, and his class were allowed to obtain their degrees of B. A. after only three years' study. It was during this one year of enforced absence that accident threw in the way of the future Commentator on American law a copy of Blackstone's Commentaries. So fascinated was he by the study of the work that he determined to make the law his profession, and after obtaining his degree he entered the law office of the Hon. Egbert Benson in Poughkeepsie. Mr. Benson was at this time Attorney-General of the State of New York.

Among the families into whose society he was admitted was that of Colonel John Bailey, an officer of prominence in the service of Congress. An attachment having sprung up between himself and Elizabeth Bailey, the second daughter, they were married April 3, 1785, the same year that he was admitted to practice as an attorney in the courts of the State.

A pleasing little incident occurred at this time. There was in Poughkeepsie a young attorney destined to fill high positions in the service of his country, Edward Livingston, the distinguished codifier of the laws of Louisiana. Judge Hobart, then presiding at the circuit, permitted these two young men, against the rules of court, to try a case of trespass. They both summed up the cause on the same side, and won it.

It was fifty years afterwards that Mr. Livingston recalled this incident to the Chancellor, and mentioned the mingled pride and fear which had agitated them at this outset of their career.

Poughkeepsie had been chosen as the place for the meeting of the convention to decide the question of the adoption or rejection of the Federal Constitution. Mr. Kent was a daily attendant at its deliberations. He published several articles in the local newspaper warmly advocating its acceptance. Although the name of the writer was withheld, so cogent was their reasoning and so brilliant their style that they were eagerly sought after by the Federal members, and were the means of introducing the writer to the acquaintance of no less a personage than Alexander Hamilton. The acquaintance thus formed ripened into a friendship which remained unbroken during the lifetime of this illustrious statesman.

Mr. Kent's political views may be said to have been built on those of Mr. Hamilton, and from the Federal doctrines, as so taught, Mr. Kent never varied even in thought

So struck was Mr. Hamilton by the power and even at that time remarkable learning of his young acquaintance that he introduced him to the notice of John Jay, and his future rapid advancement in his profession was largely owing to the kindness and patronage of the future governors of the State. In 1790 a division occurred in the Democratic party, then largely in the ascendant in Dutchess County, and to the astonishment of every one the Democratic County Convention nominated Mr. Kent, the open and avowed Federalist, as candidate for the State Assembly.

He accepted the nomination with the distinct understanding that he was not expected to vary a hair's-breadth from his political creed. The Federal candidate immediately withdrew, and Mr. Kent was unanimously elected, and served two terms in the Assembly, then holding its sessions in the city of New York.

Mr. Kent took high rank among the members of the Assembly, being at once placed on several important committees, but as a public speaker he was unsuccessful. His voice was feeble, and his manner devoid of any grace of oratory, although he was singularly clear and logical in his argument.

During the session of 1793 occurred an event which excited the feelings of the rival parties in the Assembly to the highest pitch. The State canvassers had destroyed the votes of an entire county (Otsego), and in so doing had changed the election, placing in the executive chair the candidate of the minority.

During the examination by a committee Mr. Kent was the avowed leader of his party in the House. By him were conducted all the examinations of witnesses, and he moved the resolution declaring the right of the House to impeach the canvassers, should the result of the examination justify the belief that they had been guilty of malpractice or corrupt conduct. Nor was this all: he advanced his views in a series of essays, in which he placed before the public the acts of the men whom he reprobated.

So popular did he become with his party that, in the same year, he was nominated to represent the County of Dutchess in Congress by the Federalists, but was defeated by a small majority.

Acting on the advice of some of his best friends, Mr. Kent decided to sever his connection with Dutchess County, and practise his profession in the city of New York. His success was marked. He was in 1794 offered the Professorship of Law in Columbia College, and in 1796 made a Master in Chancery, then a lucrative office.

In the succeeding year Governor Jay appointed him Recorder of the city, and in 1798, a vacancy having occurred, the Governor raised him to the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. This appointment in a pecuniary sense was a loss to him, as by the kindness of Governor Jay he had been allowed to unite the offices of Recorder and Master in Chancery, of which latter there were only two in the city. But a high judicial station had been the just aim and ambition of his life since his first entry into his profession. Mr. Kent therefore accepted the appointment; and after a brief residence in Poughkeepsie removed to Albany, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his judicial career.

The Supreme Court of the State had been formed upon the model of the King's Bench. The five justices rode circuits, as well as sat in bench to hear and decide questions of law. To the work before him Mr. Justice Kent devoted every effort of his mind. Every case not immediately decided on the hearing was carefully studied, and a written decision was read to his associates when they met for consultation. The effect was instantaneously felt. His associates were compelled to follow the same course, unless they were prepared to surrender the control of the court into the hands of the youngest of their number.

It was not only on the bench that his labors were felt. As a member of the Council of Revision there was hardly a bill introduced into the Legislature which escaped his clear, critical investigation. The temper of political parties ran high. Mr. Kent was firm in the political principles which he had embraced; but no student who reads the reports of the action of the Council can fail to be struck with the calm legal structure of his mind, and how perfectly he was unswerved by the passions of the hour.

Chief Justice Lewis was elected in 1806 to the office of Governor. An ardent Democrat, both his election and nomination had been opposed by his associate. One day in chambers Chief Justice Lewis said, "Kent, if you will vote for me I will make you Chief Justice." "No, sir," was the reply. "Personally I respect and admire you, but I detest your political principles."

What was Mr. Kent's astonishment to find himself nominated to the vacant Chief-Justiceship!

What a beautiful commentary on the conduct of the two men, — the one in seeing only the high integrity and almost matchless learning fitted to do honor to the ermine, the other in refusing to give to personal friendship what he deemed political principles denied!

During the twelve years Mr. Kent remained on the bench of the Supreme Court he won for that body the highest position in the land. The writer of this article disclaims any invidious comparisons when he claims the first rank for its illustrious Chief Justice.

"In strength and perspicacity of intellect, in the power of close and luminous reasoning, and in a profound knowledge of the common law he was probably equalled by at least two of his associates, Ambrose Spencer and Smith Thompson." Such was the verdict of perhaps the most brilliant of his contemporaries.* But in deep and varied learning, in the study of the French Jurists, in the knowledge of the Institute, Pandects, and Code of Justinian, to which he had been stimulated by the friendship of Hamilton, he stood and perhaps still stands unrivalled in America. Were this written for the lawyer, I need but quote the case of Cortilyon *v.* Lansing, as to whether the pawner has a right to sell the pledge without a demand of payment and notice to redeem. The positions which Mr. Kent defined are now elementary rules with which any student is familiar. But then it was otherwise. All was vexed and uncertain. The law in America was in a chaotic state, as the English law had left it.

Mr. Kent saw and felt this difficulty, and he sought light in quarters hitherto unknown to the student. He exhausted the authorities from their infancy to the day on which judgment was given. Satisfied that many of the decisions were erroneous and differing from what was founded on true principles, he turned to that inestimable system of Jurisprudence, to the Digest, and the Code, to the modern civilians, to Domat and Huberus and Perezius, and from them formed the wise and equitable rules which are now accepted as law.

In 1814 Mr. Kent was nominated as Chancellor. Was it to be wondered at, if for the moment he hesitated in accepting the office?

A Court of Chancery there was, but a Court of Equity, in its full, perfect, and complete significance, had no existence.

To the superficial observer it may seem that Chancellor Kent had only "obsequiously to follow" in the footsteps of Hardwick and Eldon, and their illustrious predecessors. To the student how different are the facts! A great nation had sprung fully born into existence, without precedents, with new principles, and with doctrines which had not as yet been tested by the lapse of ages. May we not rather say of him, in the words of Blackstone, speaking of the greatest of England's equity lawyers (Nottingham), "that in the course of nine years he built a system of jurisprudence and jurisdiction upon wise and rational foundations." And how was this accomplished? Let me again quote from his ablest biographer: "His great merit was the penetrating sagacity, the admirable prudence, and the comprehensive wisdom that he displayed in the selection of those principles, and in adapting them to form a government and state of society, to institutions, laws, and manners widely different from any that prevailed in the countries in which they had been originally established." This power he drew from his profound and intimate acquaintance with the Roman and civil law.

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* John Duer.

Mr. Kent was essentially and notably conservative, not only of the principles of true government, but of the integrity of the Federal Union. In no respect was this more fully shown than in the last decision of his judicial career. It was a question of the paramount authority of the Supreme Court of the United States.

"There must be somewhere," he says, "in the organization of every political institution, a paramount power, or there is no government. The Supreme Court of the United States on questions within its cognizance is that power, and if the State Courts should undertake to disobey or elude its decisions the consequences must be discord and confusion, and in the result a dissolution of the national compact.

In 1821 a convention met in the city of Albany to amend the Constitution of the State, and Chancellor Kent was a delegate.

The rapid spread of Democracy threatened to sweep away many of the landmarks of history. It was in vain that the learning of Van Vechten, the silver-tongued eloquence of Williams, the calm logic and argument of the Chancellor, were exerted to prevent the granting of universal suffrage. Every conservative barrier was removed, and the Court of Chancery itself was only spared out of personal respect to its incumbent. The Chancellor was declared incapable of holding the office after reaching the age of sixty, and in 1823 he retired from the bench. He soon took up his residence in New York, and resumed the practice of his profession.

He was a second time made Professor of Law in Columbia College. The success of his first course of lectures, which were attended by most of the leading lawyers in the city, induced him to publish them under the title of "Commentaries on American Law." The first volume was followed by three others, and in them is embraced the labor and learning of a life. Any one who attempts to write the life of this great lawyer will find his materials in his library. He read with his pen in his hand. There is not a volume which is not full of note and annotations. Books were his friends, and shared with his family his affections and his time.

To a verbal memory so remarkable that it caused the wonder of his acquaintances must be added an accuracy, a truthfulness, equally as astonishing. He was intolerant of exaggeration.

Simple in his tastes, frank and cordial in his manners, he never had a personal secret. He never did anything which the whole world might not have known and seen.

Proud of the success of his only son as a lawyer, happy in the affection of his wife and daughters, independent although not wealthy, respected and admired by his fellow-citizens, the kind, good old man sank peacefully to his rest on the 12th of December, 1847.

A firm believer in the truths of revelation, he received the blessed promise of eternal life with the trusting simplicity of a child. How well the writer of this article remembers the effort which Chancellor Kent made, a few days before his death, to note down the reflections of the hour! The pen fell from his feeble fingers, and "the lamp which his hand had so diligently trimmed gave no more light."

A few months before his death, April 26, 1847, he was admitted to honorary membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

TIMOTHY PITKIN

Timothy Pitkin, born at Farmington, Connecticut, on the 21st of January, 1766, was the son of the Rev. Timothy Pitkin, Pastor of the Congregational Church in that town, and grandson of the Hon. William Pitkin, who was Governor of the Colony from 1766 to 1769. His mother, Temperance Clap, was daughter of the Rev. Thomas Clap, President, or, as then styled, Rector of Yale College. He was in direct descent from William Pitkin, founder of the family in this country, who came from London, England, and settled in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1657.

The family, in the first three generations, held many offices of trust. The first William Pitkin, made King's Attorney for the Colony in 1664, represented Hartford from 1675 to 1690, except during the period of Major Andros's usurpation; was member of the Colonial Council from 1690 till his death; became Treasurer of the Colony in 1676, and the same year was appointed, with Major Talcott, to negotiate a peace with the Narragansetts, and other Indian tribes. On the arrival of Governor Dongan at New York, in 1683, he was one of the deputies to settle the boundaries between the two Colonies; again, in 1693, when the Governor of New York claimed command of the militia of New England, and Governor Winthrop was despatched to England to lay the case before the King, Mr. Pitkin was selected to make terms with the Governor (Fletcher) respecting the militia till the King's pleasure should be further ascertained. For many years he represented Connecticut at the meeting of Commissioners of the Colonies to devise means against their common enemies.

The second William Pitkin, son of the foregoing, born 1664, was for twenty-six consecutive years one of the Council of the Colony; was one of the Commission to receive the Earl of Bellomont on his arrival in New York; was one of the Council of War in 1707; was Judge of the County Court, and also Probate Judge, from 1702 to 1711; was made Judge of the Court of Assistants in 1703, and upon the establishment of the Superior Court in 1711 was appointed Judge, and in 1713 Chief-Justice of this Court. His son, William Pitkin, born April 30, 1694, represented the town of Hartford in the General Assembly from 1728 to 1734, was Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1732 to 1734, when he was chosen Assistant. He presided as Judge of the County Court from 1735 to 1752, was made Judge of the Superior Court in 1741, and Chief-Justice, and also Deputy-Governor, in 1754. In this year, while Lieutenant-Governor, he was appointed to meet Commissioners from other Colonies at Albany, to form a plan of union among the Colonies, and was one of a committee of six, Benjamin Franklin being chairman, to prepare such a plan. The plan of this committee, though not adopted, was the germ of the old Articles of Confederation, and of the Constitution of the United States. He was chosen Governor in 1766, in the discharge of which office he died October 1, 1769.

Timothy Pitkin, son of the foregoing, born in 1727, after graduating at Yale College, studied theology, and became pastor of the Congregational Society in Farmington, which office he held till his death in 1812. He was one of the members of the Corporation of Yale College from 1777 to 1804. His son, the subject of this memoir, received the rudiments of his education in his native town. The only books then in use in the district schools were the Bible, Dilworth's Spelling-Book, and the New England Primer, but his teacher, who was in advance of his time, introduced Lowth's English Grammar. He prepared for Yale College under his father and his brother-in-law, the Rev. Nathan Perkins, of West Hartford, was admitted in 1781, and was graduated with the highest honors of his class. President Stiles, in a letter of introduction addressed to "Governor Jefferson, Secretary of State, Philadelphia," thus describes him in 1792: "There are some young characters so ingenious and inquisitive, and promising to rise into future figure in the political world, as to become worthy of the favor and patronage of those who have already arrived at the summit of human greatness in society, and who take pleasure in cherishing those who may in time, like themselves, ascend to the superior improvements in political life. Of this number is Timothy Pitkin, Esq., a son of one of the Fellows of this College, and grandson of the late President Clap, whose genius and literary abilities he inherits. Educated at this College, he became one of its most excellent scholars in the classics and the sciences, especially mathematics and natural philosophy and astronomy. Impelled by an ardent thirst for literature and by assiduous application, he has added to these a good knowledge of the belles lettres and history. He is a most promising, worthy young character, designed for the career of civil and political life. He is continually imbibing wisdom from observing human life and manners, and the spirit and genius of government. Should you condescend to honor him with a little literary notice, you would cherish an ingenious mind which in time may do honor to his patrons and to his country." During his college course Mr. Pitkin calculated and projected all the eclipses for each year up to 1800, and among these was the famous annular eclipse of the sun in 1790. He had afterwards the satisfaction of learning from actual observation that it had been calculated with entire accuracy. He determined at an early period upon the profession of law, and after spending one year as an instructor of Latin and Greek at the academy at Plainfield, Connecticut, he put himself under the instruction of Oliver Ellsworth, Esq., of Windsor, in the winter of 1786–87, and afterwards under that of Major Judd, of Farmington. He was admitted to the bar in Hartford County in 1788. Mr. Ellsworth was distinguished as a statesman as well as a jurist; he had been a member of Congress during the great struggle for Independence, and from him Mr. Pitkin received that bias towards political action which influenced him through life. From him, also, he learned some of the secret political movements of that time, and particularly that in the early period of this struggle the Court of France encouraged the Americans to persevere, by furnishing them with military stores and money through its secret agent Beaumarchais, under the fictitious name of Hortales & Co. He availed himself of this information afterwards, when he was in Congress, in resisting what is known as the Beaumarchais claim. In 1790 he was chosen a representative from Farmington to the General Assembly of Connecticut, and from this time, being then twenty-four years old, he was fairly launched upon political life, representing, with few intermissions, his native town till the year 1805. During the latter part of this period he was several times Speaker of the House.

In 1805 he was elected one of the representatives in Congress, and continued in that capacity every year until 1819, when, in consequence of a change in the politics of the State, he and his colleagues were superseded. He was in Washington during the last four years of Jefferson's administration, the eight years of Madison's, and two years of that of Monroe. During this period he made himself conversant with the political transactions of the American government in relation to the non-importation law, the embargo, and non-intercourse systems, and the war against Great Britain which followed. He made it his business to collect public documents and state papers, and, with pen in hand, he made constant memoranda of passing events, especially of the confidential communications made to the House of Representatives by the Executive. As war was declared with closed doors, the opponents of the measure, of whom Mr. Pitkin was one, had no opportunity in debate of presenting to their constituents the reasons for their opposition, and they resolved, therefore, to address them directly on the subject. The Hon. Josiah Quincy prepared the draft of this address, but at his request Mr. Pitkin furnished that part of it which treated of the commerce which was allowed us by the French government, and whether it was worth a war in order to secure it, and whether it could be secured by war. This part was accordingly inserted in the address.

During the years 1816 and 1817 Mr. Pitkin published the first and second edition of the "Commercial Statistics of the United States." Of the second edition two hundred and fifty copies were taken by Congress for the use of the Government. After leaving Congress Mr. Pitkin was engaged in his professional pursuits, and in preparing a Political and Civil History of the United States from 1763 to 1797, or the close of the administration of Washington. This history was published in two volumes in 1828. In 1835 he published a third and enlarged edition of his Statistics, including some account of the banks and manufactures of the country. From the time of his leaving Congress he was annually chosen to the Connecticut Legislature from Farmington until 1830, when he was elected a Senator from District No. 3, established under an amendment of the Constitution. He was a member of the Convention which framed the new Constitution of the State. From 1830 he declined all public business, and soon after relinquishing his professional pursuits he devoted his time to a careful revision of his private papers and public documents, and in reviewing the writings and correspondence of Washington, Jefferson, Jay, and others, together with the diplomatic correspondence of the United States. In addition to this he prepared sketches of some of the political transactions during the administrations of the elder Adams, of Jefferson, and Madison. These sketches, which are in the form of letters to his sons, and are in fact a continuation of his Political and Civil History of the United States, have not been published.

Though retired from active life, he retained his interest in passing political events, and wrote occasional articles for the North American and American Quarterly Reviews. He was much excited by a statement that appeared in the "American Gallery of Portraits," reflecting on the life and character of his grandfather. The writer of a sketch of Jonathan Trumbull in the above-mentioned work had ventured the assertion that Trumbull had superseded Pitkin because the latter had grown old and timid, and had failed to meet the requirements of the times in resisting the Stamp Act. It is a sufficient answer to the statement that Governor Pitkin died in office; but Mr. Pitkin, entering with zeal into the defence of his grandfather, showed that Governor Pitkin owed his office as governor to his resistance of the Stamp Act. The act was passed in 1765, when Fitch was governor, Pitkin lieutenant-governor, and Trumbull a member of the Council of the State. Fitch and certain of the Council thought it their duty to take the oath required; but Pitkin, with certain others, including Trumbull, refused, and actually left the Council Chamber when the oath was taken by Fitch and those who agreed with him. At the next election, in 1766, Pitkin was chosen governor in place of Fitch, and Trumbull lieutenant-governor. At the death of Governor Pitkin in 1769, Trumbull succeeded him as Governor of Connecticut.

Mr. Thurlow Weed, in a letter published in the "New York Tribune," August 31, 1878, writes as follows: "In 1835, sitting on the after deck of a New Haven steamboat, I found myself near an old gentleman with whom I entered into conversation. It required but a few minutes to show that I had made the acquaintance of a gentleman of more than ordinary acquirements and experience. Our conversation was interesting and protracted. When the subject of slavery was introduced, the gentleman said that, regarding it as a most important and embarrassing as well as a most alarming question, he had devoted much time and thought to its consideration; adding that he had a plan, which, if it could be fairly presented by the President or through Congress to the people, would accomplish the gradual extinction of slavery. 'We have,' the gentleman proceeded, 'extinguished the national debt with the surplus proceeds of the public domain. That surplus, for which we have no further use, is rapidly increasing, so rapidly as to occasion uneasiness in Washington. The public domain will prove an enduring and inexhaustible source of national wealth; it belongs to the whole people, and seems to have been providentially reserved to effect a great and beneficial purpose. My plan is to ask the legislatures of border slave States to pass laws authorizing the purchase of one day's freedom in each week of all slaves, their value to have been appraised by a disinterested tribunal; that, two years after, another day's freedom should be purchased in like manner; and that each following two years the purchase should be repeated, until their full freedom should have been effected. Congress, meanwhile, should pass a law appropriating so much of the surplus of the public domain as the emancipation thus effected called for.' The gentleman believed that Delaware, Maryland, and probably Kentucky would promptly and cheerfully consent to sell their slaves at a fair valuation, and that Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina would, erelong, follow; and that, ultimately, the Government would be able to offer compensation liberal enough to tempt even the cotton States. While this process was going on, he proposed that the Federal government should further assist emancipation by establishing commercial relations with Hayti and St. Domingo, and in planting colonies in Africa, for the development of her gold dust, ivory, and other resources, offering aid and facilities to such freedmen as might choose to accept it. Another and most important advantage of this scheme was, that in its progress partially ransomed slaves would gradually learn the value and uses of freedom, so that after twelve years of training they would be better qualified to enter on their new life. . . . The gentleman who conceived this idea was Timothy Pitkin, one of the many distinguished sons of Connecticut, who rendered important service to the country during the first half of the present century. . . . His plan for emancipation was broadly statesmanlike. It was alike just, wise, and practical. I first mentioned it to Mr. Seward, whose warm approval confirmed my own impressions. In the course of my conversation with Mr. Pitkin, he suggested Mr. Clay as not only the best man to introduce the subject to Congress, but the one who, from his known sentiments and sympathies, would be most likely to think favorably of it. I availed myself of an early opportunity to submit Mr. Pitkin's plan to Mr. Clay, who expressed his regret that it had not been suggested before the idea of distributing the surplus fund among the States had taken such a strong hold of the public mind. I conversed with Mr. Webster, Senator Mangum of North Carolina, Governor Clark of Kentucky, and John M. Clayton of Delaware, each of whom, but for the reason assigned by Mr. Clay, would have given his earnest support to Mr. Pitkin's project. Governor Seward was so strongly impressed, that, but for the circumstance that he was drawn into an exciting conflict with the Governor of Virginia upon the Fugitive Slave question, he would have made it the leading feature in his message to the Legislature of New York. The distribution of the surplus proceeds of the public domain, after a four years' struggle, was carried, in 1831, through Congress over General Jackson's veto. It took the form of a deposit to be repaid to the General Government, but no demand has ever been made for it. New York's quota alone would have purchased all the slaves in the State of Delaware and the District of Columbia. I assume, therefore, that if Timothy Pitkin had remained in Congress a few years longer, there would have been a peaceable solution of the slavery problem."

In 1801 Mr. Pitkin was married to Elizabeth Hubbard, daughter of the Rev. Bela Hubbard, D. D., who for more than forty years was Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut. He resided in his native town till the year 1840, when, giving up the cares of housekeeping, he divided his time between his daughter in Utica, New York, who was married to the Hon. Hiram Denio, for many years Judge of the Court of Appeals in the State of New York, and his son, the Rev. Thomas Clap Pitkin, D. D., at New Haven, who was associate-rector with the Rev. Harry Croswell, D. D., of the same church over which Dr. Hubbard had presided for so many years. He died at New Haven at his son's residence, December 18, 1847, and was buried from Trinity Church in that city, of which church he had been for some years a devout communicant. His religious opinions were pronounced and definite, but were held in a spirit of charity. Not long before his death he wrote as follows: "For several years past I have spent no inconsiderable portion of my time in the study of theology; and the more I have studied the Bible and the various commentaries upon it, the more am I convinced that it can be none other than the word of God, and that it is the only sure guide to happiness both here and hereafter."

In 1837 Mr. Pitkin, at a general meeting of the "Société Française de Statistique Universelle," held at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris, was awarded a medal of honor, with a letter from the President, Le Duc de Montmorenci, acknowledging his valuable contributions to Statistical Science, and soon after received from Le Comte de Bussy, the Secretary, a diploma, making him a corresponding member of the same. On the 25th of May, 1847, he was admitted an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

SAMUEL HUBBARD

Samuel Hubbard, youngest child of William Hubbard and Joanna Perkins, was born in Boston, June 2, 1785. He was descended in a direct line from the Rev. William Hubbard of Ipswich, the historian, who was born in England, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1642. His son was John. This John married Ann, daughter of John Leverett, Governor of Massachusetts. He had a son John, who was graduated at Harvard, 1695, was a Congregational clergyman, settled as pastor over a Presbyterian church in Jamaica, Long Island. John married Mabel, daughter of Rev. Daniel Russell of Charlestown, Massachusetts. He was the father of Daniel (posthumous), born 1706, graduated at Yale 1727, afterward tutor, settled as a lawyer in New London, Connecticut, where he died 1742, leaving a widow and five children. His widow (née Coit) afterward married Thomas Greene, merchant, in Boston, and brought her children to live with her. Her youngest son William was the father of Samuel. This William married, first, Lydia Coit, of Norwich, Connecticut, and lived there during their married life. He married, second, Joanna, daughter of James Perkins, merchant of Boston, and Joanna Mascarene. This Joanna was daughter of Jean Paul Mascarene, a Huguenot refugee. He was born in Castres, Languedoc, France, 1684; fled to Geneva, 1696, afterwards to England; there he was naturalized, and made a lieutenant in the army in

1706. As early as 1714 he was settled and married in Boston, where he had a house in School Street. He was afterward made Commander-in-Chief over the Province of Nova Scotia, and died in Annapolis, Nova Scotia, 1760. The Mascarene was an ancient family in the South of France, whose members were either in the law or the army. Jean Paul left four children; the second daughter, Joanna, and her husband, James Perkins, lived in an old-fashioned house on Common Street, where the Tremont House now stands. Here her little grandson, Samuel Hubbard, with his sister Elizabeth, came to live after their mother's death in 1786.

The old house, the old grandfather, the old servants, the long-haired dog, made delightful stories in after days for Mr. Hubbard's children. The boy was under the care of his aunts until he was eight years old, when he was sent to a school in Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he lived in the family of the Rev. John Marsh, D. D.

His father married a third time, November 1, 1789, Mrs. Alice (Skinner) Deming, and removed to Colchester, Connecticut. Later this spot became the home of Samuel, and he spoke with affection of Colchester as long as he lived. After his school life in Wethersfield, he spent a year at school in Billerica, Massachusetts.

He was about twelve years old when he went to Plainfield, Connecticut, where he fitted for college under the care of Calvin Goddard, Esq., afterwards Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of Connecticut. He entered Yale College, January, 1799. In the following March, John Adams, the President of the United States, passed through New Haven and spent a night. It may not be uninteresting to give an extract from a letter which Samuel, now thirteen, wrote his father on the occasion, "Received March 25, 1799."

"This night I had the satisfaction of beholding and conversing with our excellent President, who arrived here late this afternoon; in the evening seven of my class assembled at my instigation, and went down to behold that great personage. He was extremely polite, invited us in, treated us with wine, conversed very freely with us, and especially with me, as I was more inclined to chat than the rest. He talked considerably concerning college, and some on politics; he is a short man, very fat, round face, bald on the top of his head, hair as white as Captain Babcock's; he was attended by a private secretary; he sets out for Hartford to-morrow."

Though very fond of fun and frolic, and at times too much given to amusement, he was on the whole a diligent scholar. In 1801, his junior year, he lost his father. He was graduated in 1802. He studied law with Judge Charles Chauncey of New Haven for about two years; then came to Boston, where he completed his legal studies with the Hon. Charles Jackson. Towards the close of the time spent in Mr. Jackson's office many perplexing questions arose about his future course. His first desire was to travel abroad; this he could not afford to do. Next, he says, his secret wish was to stay in Boston. But society had such strong attractions for him that he feared he might neglect his studies, become idle, and perhaps dissipated. The judgment of his uncles agreeing with his own, he determined to leave the city. He was admitted to the Bar in 1806. In the summer of that year he took an exploring ride with a friend,* who had been studying in the same office with himself, through the district of Maine, and chose Biddeford as the place most favorable for success. It was during this jaunt that he wrote his college friend, Mr. Thomas Burrall, a letter dated August 24, 1806, which shows his appreciation of poetry.

"I took Burns with me on my journey, and read him with great pleasure while sailing along the banks of the Penobscot. His poems seemed to meliorate the rude wildness of the scene and to soften the roughness of uncultivated nature. There is a mellowness and accuracy in his descriptions which I in vain look for in other poets, with perhaps the exception of Thomson. But Thomson with as much delicacy has less enthusiasm. The animation, the fancy, of Burns is like the magic of the fairies; a new creation springs up at his touch, and the heaths of Scotland bloom like the primeval Eden. With such a companion who can be lonesome? I pity the man whose soul Burns cannot move."

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* Benjamin D. Guild, Esq., of Boston.

For several years his letters to his classmates and early friends were very numerous. He copied them into a large book; many are surprisingly long. They are sprightly and entertaining, and often contain racy descriptions of character.

The following extract gives a good idea of them: "Biddeford, November 15, 1809. Our Supreme Court at this time is perhaps as learned and in as high repute as any in the United States. It is not, to be sure, filled with poets and bookmakers and statesmen, nor has it more heads than the hydra, but it has a Parsons for a Chief Justice, who is of himself a host, a Sedgwick, who is deeply versed in the ancient common law, a Sewall and a Parker, who are well read in the customs and usages of merchants, and a Thacher, who is as deep a metaphysician as any of the Peripatetics of Connecticut.

"Judge Thacher has for some years tried the issues in the United States Courts in the District of Maine, but it was suggested that a change for once would be agreeable, and accordingly this fall Judge Sedgwick came down East and held the courts in the various counties. He has given very general satisfaction to the various suitors in court from his uniform patience and strict impartiality. The Judge is a sound, well-read lawyer, and is fond of displaying his knowledge, and it is therefore profitable for young men to attend his court, for a good deal of principle and practice may be learned. In private circles he is as vain at the bottom as our quondam *Maister*, though he has more, I think, of what is called knowledge of the world. His constant theme, after himself, is the great men of New York, whom he calls the finest fellows in the world and his very best friends. He is much given to the use of the superlative degree, all things being with him infinitely good or infinitely bad. He is fond of making *impressive* charges and of giving elaborate opinions to raise his character as a judge. He was violently offended that he was not appointed Chief Justice on the resignation of Judge Dana, and when Judge Parsons was appointed he is said to have declared that there was no man in the State he would sit under but him. If you own the Massachusetts Term Reports, and have read his opinions, you will easily perceive the characteristic traits of the man. With more of legal arrangement than Chauncey, with more of knowledge and talent than Humphreys (Count Merino), and with more of politeness and affability than Dwight, he is, however, of the same school with them; the same preposterous and overweening vanity, the same childish fondness of their own doings, mark the men. Yet Sedgwick is a good Judge, and as to the main things of life, I have no doubt, a very good man. Speaking in his way he declared our docket the most unyielding one he ever met in his life, — one cause took up a part .f three days, and one or two others a day each, — they were all land causes."

In September, 1806, Mr. Hubbard began the practice of law in Biddeford, Maine, and continued there with good success for several years. At the outset of his career he said: "I determined to be so accurate in all my statements that my word should be as good as my oath." "Early in 1811 he returned to Boston and formed a professional connection with his instructor, which continued until the appointment of Mr. Jackson to the Bench of the

Supreme Court in 1813. Mr. Hubbard soon rose to the highest rank in the profession, both as a counsellor and advocate, and became engaged in the most extensive and laborious practice."*

Mr. Hubbard was a man of a commanding presence, a handsome countenance, and attractive manners. His black hair showed a little gray where it curled about his temples. He had a keen dark eye, which required a truthful answer to the questions which he knew how to put. He was great in his power of observation, and wonderfully retentive and exact in his memory of facts. A proof of his keen observation is shown in a case where he was certain that the chief witness perjured himself, and he saw no way of proving his falsehood. After long and careful examination it occurred to Mr. Hubbard to hold an important paper relating to the case against the window, when he discovered that the water-mark bore a date several years later than the deed. When asked the next morning at court whether he had any further reply to make, he said, "Will your Honor please look at this paper?" The Judge held the paper to the light, and read the date aloud. The opposing counsel said, "I yield the case."

Mr. Hubbard's local memory and attachments were strong. For twenty-one years he lived in a house at the head of Bumstead Place (the spot is now one of the entrances to the Music Hall). From the parlor was a pretty view of the Brookline hills. This view was cut off by the shed fence of his neighbor, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, who was kind enough to have the fence hinged in sections and laid down except on Mondays, when it was put up for the protection of the drying clothes. Sometimes the servants forgot to lower it, and a courteous request would be sent that the fence might be dropped, and a polite apology came back and the fence was lowered.

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* Extract from the remarks of Charles G. Loring, Esq., before the Supreme Judicial Court.

During his early married life Mr. Hubbard spent the summer months in the country, and gratified an ardent love of Nature by daily walks in the garden, the fields, and the woods. The birds were his companions; the varied tints of their plumage delighted his eye, and he wished that like rich and harmonious coloring might appear in the dress of his family and the adornments of his house. In all his habits he was neat and orderly, and his rare taste combined with his courteous manners made him a general favorite. The society of ladies was especially attractive to him, and the virtues and talents of woman ever found in him a loyal advocate. No slander or gossip was tolerated in his presence. His temper was fine, a delicate vein of humor was often apparent in his conversation, and his good-nature was almost imperturbable. He was naturally averse to beginning study or work, and thought his love of ease — or sloth, as he called it — his greatest weakness; at the same time he was a very industrious man, and few have the power to accomplish so much hard work as he could do when he once set about it. He had also great facility in throwing off the care of business while he was with his family, and he amused himself at table by asking his children questions, and drawing out their knowledge and stimulating them to get more.

The legal business of Mr. Hubbard brought mercantile business in its train. At the organization of the Suffolk Bank, in 1818, he was made one of the Directors. He continued in this office for twenty-four years, and during this time was the legal adviser of the bank. He was also President of the bank for a short time, from April, 1825, until November of the same year.

Mr. Hubbard was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1816–18, 1820, 1821, and 1831, and of the Senate in 1823 and 1824, and also in 1838. He was also a member of the State Convention called to amend the Constitution after the separation of Maine in 1820.

He gave much time and labor to educational and religious societies. His mother and all her family were Episcopalians. While a child he attended Trinity Church with his grandparents, and on his return to Boston after leaving college he still went there. In 1821 he joined Park Street Church, and from that time identified himself with the Congregationalists.

For twenty-two years, from 1821 to 1843, he was a member of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and for nine years was the Chairman of that Committee. He sustained this relation till his appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court made it necessary to resign the office. During these years he devoted every Tuesday afternoon to the duties of that Committee.

He was a Trustee of the Phillips Academy and Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, from 1823 to 1843.

From 1829 until his death he was a member of the Corporation of Dartmouth College.

On the organization of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance in January, 1826, the Hon. Marcus Morton was chosen President; the Hon. Samuel Hubbard, Vice-President. Mr. Morton resigning in 1831, Mr. Hubbard was made President. This society came to an end in 1836, and was merged in the American Temperance Union.

He was President of the American Education Society for sixteen years, from 1827 until 1843, and one of the original founders of the American Tract Society, and Vice-President for the years 1839–42 inclusive. He was also a member of the Bible Society.

He was Vice-President of the American Home Missionary Society from its commencement until his death. On the 28th of May, 1847, he was chosen an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

During the years so crowded with business, Mr. Hubbard's fine constitution enabled him to study late at night without impairing his health. The spare minutes in the morning, while he waited for the family to assemble for breakfast, which, in the shortest days of winter, was always before eight o'clock, he employed in reading. In this way he read many works. His library of English literature for size and value ranked among the first private libraries in the city. The Hon. Rufus Choate said of him that the reason why Mr. Hubbard could do so much work was because he had his Sundays. But Sundays were busy days, for two Bible-classes and the diligent study of the Scriptures in preparation for them took many hours. In the summer vacations Mr. Hubbard was in the habit of taking a journey with his wife and some of his children. Often a party of friends chartered a stage-coach and travelled in company. Many pleasant acquaintances were formed in 1834, when he went as far as Detroit, then considered a long distance from Boston. In 1835 he took a trip to the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

In a second trip to Michigan and Western New York he caught the fever and ague, and an attack in the autumn of 1838 and a longer one in the spring of 1839 impaired his constitution, and laid the foundation of the disease which caused his death.

Mr. Hubbard's very large family did not prevent the exercise of hospitality. Never were master and mistress of a household more hospitable, more cordial in welcoming their friends and making them at home. Mr. Hubbard was an affectionate husband and an indulgent parent. In the latter years of his life his little boys went into his room early in the morning to hear him tell stories. These tales grew day by day, and sometimes lasted for weeks. His Bible stories were as interesting as fairy-tales. He took great interest in his sons' occupations and amusements, and, with the help of his youngest daughter, devoted much time to the oversight of a little paper called the Gleaner, which three of his sons edited, printed, and circulated among their friends for four years. He occasionally wrote for it, and aided them in the selection, spelling, and punctuation of their pieces. For the last twelve years of his life he kept a journal called the Family Book, in which he noted the daily events which were of interest to the household.

He had the happy faculty of attaching dependents and servants to him. He took a warm interest in their welfare, and was always courteous in his treatment and address.

Any notice of Mr. Hubbard would be incomplete without a mention of his great modesty with regard to his own gifts, personal and mental. If there was one thing he was proud of, it was of his Huguenot ancestry.

In December, 1832, Gardiner Greene, Esq., died, leaving a great estate, one of the largest at the time in New England. Mr. Hubbard was the principal trustee. The speculations of 1834 and 1835 and the reverses of the two following years brought heavy losses. Mr. Hubbard was not so successful in managing a large property as he was in his legal pursuits. He resigned his trusteeship in 1840. At this time he lost the greater part of the property which he had acquired for himself, and ever afterward felt straitened in his circumstances. During these years he relinquished the active practice of the law, though he was still consulted on important business by private individuals.

In 1842 he was appointed by Governor Davis to succeed Judge Putnam as one of the Justices of the Supreme

Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Shortly after this appointment he was made LL. D. by Harvard College, 1842, having received the same honor from Yale in 1827.

Before entering upon the duties of his office he made a record of his feelings with regard to it, and in this record is found a prayer, of which the following is a brief extract: "In the fear of my God and Saviour I undertake the duties of this office; I cast myself on Him, I look to Him for wisdom and strength, I pray Him to give me skill to discern and integrity to judge right. I pray for industry and promptness that I may be enabled successfully to resist sloth and procrastination, to overcome the fear of man, to avoid prejudice, to favor no one from a desire to obtain or to continue his favor towards me. I pray for patience to hear, and an ability to keep my thoughts on the subject presented to me for decision. I pray for courtesy and Christian kindness towards my respected associates on the bench, towards the members of the bar and the officers of the court, towards jurors and suitors in court, and towards the whole community."

Mr. Hubbard resided in Boston from 1811 until April, 1843, when he changed his residence to Dorchester. In the autumn of 1844 he returned to the city, where he passed the remainder of his life. In September, 1847, he went to the western part of the State to hold court. While at Northampton he was taken ill. On his return home, the 1st of October, it soon became apparent that the disease would prove fatal. His illness was attended with great debility and languor, but with little pain, and he was able to ride out every day in an open carriage. His serenity and cheerfulness were remarkable, and he was much gratified that little incidents which commonly irritated persons in sickness had no power to annoy him. In fact, he generally enjoyed life in a remarkable degree. At first he read interesting books, but, finding that his time would be short, the books were laid aside, and he busied himself with looking over and destroying old papers and arranging his affairs. His friends crowded to see him, sometimes in such numbers that he appeared to be holding a levee. He enjoyed their society as much as ever, and was not tired by their company. On Thanksgiving Day, November 25, his children, for the first time in their lives, all met together and dined at their father's house. Though he was not able to be at the table with them, he conducted the family worship, as he did to the last evening of his life. His disorder terminated much sooner than was expected, and he died quite suddenly, December 24, 1847. His funeral was on the 27th, and he was buried in Mount Auburn.

Immediately after his death Judge Hubbard's friends, wishing to testify their love and esteem, made a gift to his widow of $10,000 for the education of his sons.

His funeral sermon was preached, January 2, 1848, by the Rev. Silas Aiken, pastor of Park Street Church. Mr. Aiken mentions Mr. Hubbard's Bible-classes as some of the most interesting of his religious labors. In October, 1831, he began a Bible-class for young men, who met at his house every Sunday for two years. Park Street Sunday School was formed in 1833; then Mr. Hubbard's Bible-class was united with it. As long as he was able to attend church he instructed this class, which numbered in all one hundred and ninety-four regular members. In February, 1832, he began a young ladies' Bible-class, which met at his house weekly, with few interruptions, until April, 1843, when he removed from the city. One hundred and twenty young ladies at different times belonged to this class. He was also for a time a Sunday-school teacher in the State Prison at Charlestown, Massachusetts.

The following remarks are extracted from an address before the Supreme Judicial Court made by Charles G. Loring, Esq., on the occasion of the death of the Hon. Samuel Hubbard. Speaking of his character as an advocate, he says: "In the management of trials before the jury, Mr. Hubbard was distinguished for his minute and careful knowledge of every fact and circumstance and every point of law and evidence that could be anticipated to arise; for a peculiar, penetrating sagacity in seizing upon the weak positions of his adversary's case and the strong ones of his own, for the clearness and discrimination with which he arrayed his points of law and fact, and the adroitness and honest earnestness of conviction with which he pressed them upon the jury, rather than for great powers of generalization, or comprehensive scope of argument, or verbal eloquence; although at times, when under excitement in the belief that he was contending with false testimony or intended wrong, his appeals to the mind and heart might be ranked among the happiest efforts of eloquent men.

"His arguments to the Court in Bench were characterized by entire mastery of the learning applicable to the subject, perfect apprehension of the turning-points of the case, and clear, sagacious, truthful, and ingenious application of the principles upon which its decision should depend.

"After a long and most honorable and successful career in the practice of the law, he had in a great measure retired from it for a few years preceding his elevation to the Bench in 1842. The term of his service has been indeed of short duration, but sufficient to evince the wisdom of his appointment, to establish his claim to be ranked among the most wise, accomplished, faithful, and popular of judges, to impress upon the profession and the people an affectionate and reverential regard for his name, and to strengthen and elevate the highest judicial tribunal of his native State; while the reports of his judicial opinions will hand down to posterity the characteristic traits of his mind as illustrated in his professional career, though they can do nothing to perpetuate those graces of the heart and life which made him so dear to his contemporaries.

"In his social relations it is difficult to speak of the deceased in terms that shall not be accounted the exaggerated eulogium of bereaved friendship. But we may speak of his prompt and efficient services in the legislative halls of the State when duty called him there; of his ever wise and active benevolence abroad; of his unostentatious charity to those who sought his aid in counsel or in alms; of his unwearied services in the great causes of religion and moral reformation, as a leading member and officer of many public and private associations for these purposes; the weight of his influence and example as a member of the Christian Church, and of the never-failing fulness of mind and heart and simplicity of manner that shed such sunlight upon the social circle or friendly interview; — of these we may speak, not, however, in the language of repining sorrow or unmanly grief, but in thankfulness that they have been vouchsafed so long, and in the happy confidence that their influences shall never die."

After various resolutions of respect and honor were offered, Chief Justice Shaw made the following response: —

"Judge Hubbard was remarkable among his contemporaries for his power of patient and thorough investigation which enabled him to unravel the most complicated cases, and to point out clearly to others the true points on which the merits of an intricate controversy turned. Practising in a mercantile community in a time when great interests growing out of commerce and navigation were brought into controversy, his mind was thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of mercantile law; not merely the municipal law which governs one State or one country, but that qualified international law which for general convenience, and almost by general consent, governs the commercial world. He could readily bring to his aid, in questions arising out of either foreign or domestic commerce, that mass of usages and customs founded in considerations of right and expediency, and sanctioned and confirmed by the frequent decisions of courts of justice, designated as the law merchant. His knowledge in these respects and his practical skill in accounts, applied under the aid of well-known and well-settled rules of law, familiar to his mind, gave him a pre-eminence in this class of legal investigations which was felt and acknowledged by those who were associated with him, as well as by the courts and juries to whom they were presented. In the discussion of legal questions his arguments were marked by legal discrimination and a fulness of authorities which indicated that no industry had been spared in bringing to the support of his cause all the aid which books could furnish. The example may be justly held up for imitation, especially to young men looking forward to success in the legal profession."

Thursday, June 8, 1815, Mr. Hubbard was married to Mary Ann, daughter of Gardiner Greene, merchant of Boston, and Elizabeth Hubbard. (Mr. Greene and his wife were second cousins, as were Mr. Hubbard and his wife.) She died July 10, 1827. Their children were: Elizabeth Greene, born February 11, 1817; Joanna Perkins, born September 26, 1818, died August 4, 1862; Mary Ann, born September 7, 1820, died July 25, 1864; Gardiner Greene, born August 25, 1822; Caroline, born May 11, 1826, died November 15, 1868.

He married, second, Mrs. Mary Ann, widow of Rev. Henry Blatchford, daughter of Elisha and Rebecca (Manwaring) Coit, of New York City, October 28, 1828. She died in Liverpool, England, July 20, 1869. By her he had Sarah Wisner, born August 16, 1829, died February 26, 1856; Samuel, born June 18, 1831; Henry Blatchford, born January 8, 1833, died February 13, 1862; William Coit, born September 23, 1834, died January 3, 1865; James

Mascarene, born August 15, 1836; Charles Eustis, born August 7, 1842.

The following epitaph, though never engraven on his monument, is a beautiful tribute to his memory: —

OF AN ANCIENT FAMILY:
OF COMMANDING PRESENCE:
OF URBANE MANNERS AND A
KINDLY HEART:
LEARNED IN THE INSPIRED
ORACLES AS WELL AS IN HUMAN LAW:
A SOUND DIVINE NOT LESS
THAN A JUST JUDGE:
ACTIVE AS A PHILANTHROPIST
BECAUSE EARNEST AS A
CHRISTIAN; HE MOVED
WITH AUTHORITY AMONG MEN,
AND WALKED WITH GOD, AND WAS
NOT, FOR GOD TOOK HIM.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

1. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, the son of
2. JOHN ADAMS and ABIGAIL SMITH.
3. named from his mother's grandfather,
4. JOHN QUINCY, who was dying at the time of his birth.
5. born 11th of July, 1767, at Braintree, in Suffolk County, Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

It may fairly be said that from the date of his birth to that of his death he followed closely, though on an infinitely wider scale, the example of the person after whom he had been named. Hence it was that the earliest impressions of the child, carefully nursed by his parents as he grew, combined with his native vigor to make him what he proved to be. For it may truly be said of him that from education, in its ordinary sense of continuous systematic instruction, he never had even the common advantages. In his seventh year the family were driven out of Boston by the war then impending, and instead of learning he only gathered, from the heights behind the home at Braintree, the booming of cannon and the glare of the distant conflagration of Charlestown, fearful warnings of the conflict of forces that was to follow. The next year he had learned enough of the fortunes of war to send to his father at Philadelphia a letter announcing the evacuation of Boston by the British. That letter has not been preserved, but its nature may be gathered from this answer to it: —

John Adams to his Son.

PHILADELPHIA, April 18, 1776.

MY DEAR SON, — I thank you for your agreeable letter of the 24th of March. I rejoice with you that our friends are once more in possession of the town of Boston, and am glad to hear that so little damage is done to our house.

I hope you and your sister and brother will take proper notes of these great events, and remember under whose wise and kind Providence they are all conducted; not a sparrow falls nor a hair is lost but by the direction of Infinite Wisdom. Much less are cities conquered and evacuated. I hope that you will all remember how many losses, dangers, and inconveniences have been borne by your parents, and the inhabitants of Boston in general, for the sake of preserving freedom for you and yours, and I hope you will all follow their virtuous example if in any future time your country's liberties should be in danger, and suffer every human evil rather than give them up. My love to your mamma, your sister and brothers and all the family.

I am your affectionate father,
JOHN ADAMS.

The evacuation of Boston referred to in this letter presently put an end to all further fears of personal danger in Massachusetts. But if this change was comforting to the mother, who stayed at home quietly on one side, a new event on the other came to try her in a different fashion. The Congress at Philadelphia, rendered uneasy by the reckless conduct of Silas Deane, who had been sent as one of three Commissioners to France with a view to conciliate the government there, fixed upon John Adams as a trusty person to go out and correct possible errors. The mission was not without its hazards, and he had little fancy for it. But he was not of the sort to make excuses, and readily undertook the trust. One of the few armed vessels belonging to the Congress, called the Boston, then lying in the harbor of that town, was assigned to take him over the sea. A grave question then presented itself to his mind, in regard to the disposal of his wife and four children, the eldest not ten years old. Here it was that the heroism of the wife shone out. She declared herself ready either to go with him and brave all hazards, or else to stay at home alone with all the children, as he might judge most expedient. After anxious consultation it was determined that only the eldest son, John Quincy, should go with his father, whilst the other children should remain under the protection of their mother, and the relatives and friends within her reach.

This important question once settled, the next event was the separation. On the 13th of February, 1778, usually the roughest portion of the winter in New England, the youth, then ten years old, stepped after his father into a light open boat sent to receive them, and the party pushed off from the shore of their kinsman, Norton Quincy of Mount Wollaston in Boston Bay, where they had taken breakfast, to make the best of their way to a small frigate lying out in the harbor. Captain Tucker, the commander of the vessel, had been especially instructed by the Navy Commissioners to take charge of this party, and he went personally to perform the service. Many years after this event, when it had become matter for history, he presented to the younger passenger, who had then risen to the highest office in the gift of the nation, the original log-book kept by him during this hazardous voyage. It tells of much severe weather as well as constant alarms from vessels suspected to be British cruisers; but nothing actually happened to prevent the ultimate safe arrival of the ship at Bordeaux on the 1st of April, after the lapse of forty-six days.

Four days later the son addressed the following letter to his mother at Quincy. He was then ten years old.

PARIS, April the 12th, 1778.

HON^D MAMMA, — Having now a good opportunity I cannot let it slip without writing a few lines To you as it is not often that I have that pleasure, and so I must not let slip one opportunity in writing to so kind and tender a mamma as you have been to me, for which I believe I shall never be able to repay you.

I hope I shall never forget the goodness of God in preserving us through all the dangers that we have been exposed to in crossing the seas, and that by his Almighty power we have arrived safe in France after a troublesome voyage. We arrived at Paris on Wednesday evening at about 8 o'clock; when we procured a lodging which we found difficult to get — but after going to 2 or 3 places we found a place that we could hire for 2 days; where we lodged. The next morning we went to find Dr. Franklin, where we found him at a place called Passy about 2 Leagues out of the city.

I am, with my love To my sister and brother,

Your dutiful son,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Eight days later he writes thus from Passy: —

I now sit down to write a few lines to inform you that I am now at a school which I like very well. I will now give you an account how we live here. At six o'clock in the morning we get up and go into school and stay till half after eight when we breakfast and play till 9, when we go in and stay till 12, when we dine. After dinner we play till 2, when we go in and stay till half after 4, when we come out and play till five, when we go in and stay till half after 7, when we sup. After supper we go up and stay about an hour, and go to bed.

I suppose before this reaches you, you will hear of the Treaty concluded between France and America which I believe will rouse the hearts of the Americans exceedingly, and also of the desire of the English to make peace with us, and of the Commissioners despatched from England for that purpose.

Give my duty to my grandpapa and my love to all friends.

I am your dutiful son,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Here begins the political education. The commission referred to was probably that consisting of Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden, sent from Great Britain about this time, but which brought nothing to pass. On the other hand, that to which Mr. Adams had been sent at Paris he found in little better condition. Hence he was not long in making up his mind to recommend to the Congress to reduce the number of three Commissioners to one, and that the one should be Dr. Franklin. As a consequence his place would be not to dally in France, but to return home forthwith. The French Ministry, pleased by his deportment while there, and just then fitting out an armed vessel to take the Count de la Luzerne in the capacity of an Envoy to the new nation in America, on learning Mr. Adams's decision, liberally extended to him an invitation to go likewise in that ship. This offer was accepted, and in accordance with it he took leave of the government and embarked with his son John at L'Orient in the French frigate "La Sensible," on the 17th of June, 1779. The voyage proved highly favorable, and brought the wanderers safely home to Braintree, after an absence of more than seventeen months, on the 2d of August, 1779.

Thus ended the first voyage of the youth, then near the close of his twelfth year.

But he had scarcely enjoyed the first hours of recreation at home, with the mother whom he so deeply cherished, when a new and wholly unexpected event came to interpose a second separation.

The report made by John Adams to Congress of the state of things at Paris, consequent upon the dissensions that had sprung up among the various delegates who had been sent there, had the effect of impelling those members of the Congress who represented the Northern colonies to go to the other extreme, and, instead of multiplying agents, to concentrate their trust in a single person. That person proved to be Mr. Adams. The consequence was that by this decisive act a new Commission was created, and he was elected the sole person to fill it.

This act met with the approbation of the French Envoy. The French frigate "La Sensible," which had brought both of them over, was still lying in the harbor awaiting orders, and the Count Luzerne lost no time, after learning the result of the choice, in offering to Mr. Adams an immediate passage in her back again. Hence it followed that, after an interval of rest not much exceeding three months, Mr. Adams was summoned once more to embark in the Sensible. But this time he took with him not only his son John, but a younger brother, Charles, nine years old, as well as a trustworthy Secretary, Mr. Thaxter, a very necessary appendage to such a Commission. There he found also Mr. Francis Dana, chosen to act as his Secretary, and several other countrymen fellow-passengers on board.

It is from the date of this ship's sailing from Boston that the first attempt was made by John Quincy Adams, now a boy of twelve years old, to keep a diary of events, an undertaking in which he persevered for nearly seventy years. There was nothing remarkable in the voyage, excepting the fact recorded by the youth that the frigate sprang a leak serious enough to require even the passengers to take their part daily at the pumps, four times a day, struggling with this difficulty. On the 8th of December they finally made out to reach the harbor of Ferrol in Spain. The youthful journalist thereupon records on the 9th of December the following entry: —

> "This morning my pappa, Mr. Dana, Mr. Allen, Mr. Thaxter, Sammy Cooper and myself came on shore and we all, but pappa, went and dined at Colonel Fleury's lodgings which are at a French tavern, the master of which was born in South Carolina. At half after six o'clock we went to the play and came back at ten."

The frigate was found to require so long a time to repair that the voyagers decided not to wait for it. The alternative was to proceed to France by land. Accordingly on Wednesday, the 15th of December, the whole party started in carriages and on mules from Ferrol to cross the mountains.

A brief specimen of the journal of the youth during this trip will suffice. John Quincy was then in his twelfth year: —

"This morning at 5 o'clock the Consul's servant came and waked us up. We dressed and drank a cup of chocolat. After breakfast the Consul came and told us he was ready. We then went down to the wharf and on board a boat, to cross over the other side of the bason. When we arrived, the muleteers were not quite ready, but we soon got ready and then set out like so many Don Quixotes and Sancho Panchas or Hudibras and Ralphos. We were eleven in company, and in this order: 1st, the Consul; 2d, my Pappa; 3d, Mr. Dana; 4th, Mr. Allen; 5th, Mr. Thaxter; 6th, Mr. Sam Cooper; 7th, my brother Charles, and 8th, myself, who made the centre; 9th, the Consul's servant; 10th, Mr. Dana's servant; 11th and last, the muleteers who brought up the rear. We passed several bridges and amongst the rest one of a mile long which they call Devil's Bridge, and another at which we dined, which was called Hog's bridge — Droll names for bridges, I think. The French Consul provided our dinner, and we were glad of it, for we found nothing at all that was eatable at the tavern. He said that they found nothing; but some of the gentlemen asking for water, Ah, says he, as to water you may find enough of that in Spain. We also passed a river and a number of prodigious high mountains. The ground is in general well cultivated, corn, turnips and all other vegetables stand in the ground in the month of December uncovered, all about, with a sweet verdure and all appears like the month of May. We arrived at Corunna and took our lodgings. The city of Corunna appeared to me to be better built and handsomer than that of Ferrol; the streets are larger but I entered it in the night and therefore could not observe anything well."

On the 26th of December the party left Corunna, and, passing through a large number of places, were so delayed that it was not until the 29th of January, 1780, that they arrived at Bordeaux. In other words, this trip over the mountains in Spain absorbed as much time as either of the passages made over the ocean, whilst the fatigue was infinitely greater.

With this arrival terminates the first specimen of the diary of John Quincy Adams. It may be added that on the outside covers are drawn a variety of sketches of military forts, and lines of soldiers in single file, marching with cannon to the attack, betraying a lively sense among the youths of the perils they had anticipated. But they were doomed to disappointment. The party arrived for the second time safe and sound at Paris in the first days of July. The boys were soon put to school; but not to remain anywhere very long. On Thursday, the 27th of the month, John Quincy, who had been duly notified, was ready to set out with his father and brother to Holland. They went accordingly to Amsterdam, where he entered the public Latin school. Here he appears to have met with a teacher who, failing to understand American habits, evoked a spirit of resistance which, if once raised, might easily have passed into something more serious. The storm was averted by his father's withdrawing him forthwith. He was immediately transferred to the University of Leyden, where all went smoothly and successfully as possible. It is here that he began a practice of copying into small paper books every passage that he found striking in the works of noted poets and prose writers in various languages. He was industriously at work in this way when still another event interposed to change the direction of his thoughts.

It has already been noted that among the passengers in the frigate Sensible had been Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, selected by Congress to act as the Secretary in Mr. Adams's mission; but in the event of any prospect of a recognition of the new country by the Empress

Catherine of Russia, he was authorized to take measures to obtain an official recognition as a minister at that Court. In July, 1781, the appearances seemed so favorable that Mr. Adams urged the prosecution of the experiment as, at least, worth trying. Accordingly Mr. Dana made his preparations for the journey, but, finding himself in need of a Secretary to aid him, he proposed to young Adams to serve in that capacity. This once more broke up the youth's regular schooling, and he never resumed it until, some years after, he got home to an American College. The party started from Amsterdam on the 17th of July, but did not reach St. Petersburg until the 27th of August, being about forty days on the way, riding day and night.

Here he remained for a period of fourteen months. A single letter of his to his father on his arrival at St. Petersburg may suffice to explain his own feelings at this time. He was now passing his fourteenth year: —

J. Q. A. to J. A.

St. Petersburg, August 31st, 1781.

To my Father:

Honoured Sir, — We arrived here on Monday the $\frac{16}{27}$th instant, having left Amsterdam the 7th of July N. S. and rode the greatest part of the way day and night. The distance is about two thousand English miles.

The first place of any consequence we stopped at was Berlin, the capital of the King of Prussia's dominions — This is a very pretty town much more so than Paris or London, as Mr. Dana says, but it will be still more so, if the present King's plan is adopted by his successors — For wherever there is a row of low small houses, he sends the owners out of them, has them pulled down and has large elegant houses built in the same place, and then sends the owners in again. But notwithstanding this, he is not beloved in Berlin, and everybody says publicly what he pleases against the King — but as long as they do not go any further than words he don't take any notice of it; but says that as long as they give him all he asks they may say what they will. But they have great reason to complain of him, for he certainly treats them like slaves. Among other things if a farmer has two or more sons, the eldest inherits all the land, and all the others when of age, are soldiers for life at a gros and a half per day, which is about two pence sterling, and they must with that, find their own provisions. If a farmer has but one son, he inherits his land. Whenever a vacation* happens in any regiment he chooses one of his subjects to fill the place, and this subject, from that time becomes a soldier for life. Everybody that is tall enough is subject to this law.

In peace time the native troops are disbanded. Nine months in a year, and in all that time their pay ceases, and they must get their living as they can.

There is nothing very remarkable in Dantzic, Konigsberg, or Riga; in coming to this last we passed through Courland, a province which does, strictly speaking, belong to Poland, but Russia has much more influence there than Poland itself. In that province all the farmers are in the most abject slavery. They are bought and sold there like so many slaves, and are sometimes even changed for dogs or horses. Their masters have even the right of life and death over them, and if they kill one of them they are only obliged to pay a trifling fine — They may buy themselves, but their masters in general take care not to let them grow rich enough for that. If anybody buys any land there, he must buy all the slaves that are upon it.

Narva is the last place we stopped at before our arrival here. It is a small town, but although insignificant will be always famous for the battle fought there.

As to this place I have not been here long enough to know much about it; but by what I have seen of it, I think it is still handsomer than Berlin. The streets are large and the houses well built, but it is not yet half finished, and will take another century to be rendered complete.

Just before we got to Berlin, by the carelessness of the postilion, our carriage overset and broke, so that Mr. Dana was obliged to buy another there — but luckily nobody was hurt by the fall. Nothing else extraordinary befell us on our journey.

I am your dutiful son,

J. Q. ADAMS.

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* *Id est,* vacancy.

The time had not arrived when the Empress Catherine could see her way to make any overtures to American rebels without hazarding her good understanding with the British authorities. There was nothing, therefore, for the youth to do but to study German, read the Orations of Cicero, translate the Latin authors, and copy largely from books of the British poets. Fourteen months thus passed without a prospect of release through the return of Mr. Dana, so he tired of his studies and made up his mind to go back to his father at Paris. A solitary journey wholly through strange countries by a youth of barely fifteen, in the depth of winter, was no trifling undertaking, but he decided to make it. On the 30th of October, 1782, he left St. Petersburg alone for Stockholm, which he reached in twenty-three days. From thence he went to Copenhagen, taking five weeks. Thence he was detained on his way by so many delays that he did not get back to his father at The Hague until the 20th of April, 1783, a period of very nearly six months.

But in the interval occupied by this journey a great change had been going on in public affairs. Great Britain had come to the conclusion that the recovery of the American Colonies was hopeless. A resort to negotiation had been had, and the place for it fixed at Paris. Hence John Adams was not the less pleased to have his son with him, ready to go to that city. Meanwhile his wife and daughter had crossed the Atlantic, and the family found themselves once more together after this separation of five anxious and painful years.

The Peace was made in 1783, and John Adams, after having acted as one of the ministers in the negotiations, was commissioned by Congress to pass over to Great Britain and present himself to the King as the first diplomatic representative of the emancipated nation. The change of place was agreeable to all the members of the family but one. John Quincy was now in his eighteenth year, and it was high time for him, if he meant to do anything at all, to prepare himself for action in a different sphere. He had helped in the details of the negotiation, and the temptation to remain with the family in England was not trifling. Had he yielded, this would probably have been the end of his career. He decided to tear himself away and return alone to try his fortune in a deserted home. It was the turning point of his life.

At this stage it may not be without its use in the study of character to look back for a moment at the nature of the preparation which he had made at the time when he decided to apply for admission as a student at Harvard College. In the interval of his absence in Europe he had been more or less transported from place to place over a large portion of Europe, and that in a manner very unpropitious to the prosecution of any continuous study. First in France, then in Holland, thence for a few months in St. Petersburg, after which passing rapidly through Norway and Sweden, again to Paris, it would be natural to infer that he could have accomplished little or nothing in the line of study or education. Whether at Passy, or Paris, or Amsterdam, or Leyden, or St. Petersburg, it might be assumed that no opportunity for thorough study in any branch of knowledge could have been secured between these various points. Yet from an examination of the papers left by him during this same period it appears that he studied, and in many instances translated into English or into French, very numerous extracts from Phædrus, Nepos, Virgil, Horace, Lucretius, Tibullus, Ovid, Tacitus, Suetonius, Cæsar, and Cicero, all of which yet remain among his papers, together with other works of the same kind made afterwards. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that on his application for admission at Cambridge he was at once admitted to advanced standing in the junior year, so that his residence at the College did not much exceed one year. In a letter to his mother announcing his admission he adds that he could have entered even in the senior year, but he preferred to get the training afforded by a longer stay with his associates.

In 1787, at the age of twenty years, he issued from the College with high honors. The next thing to do was to choose a profession. He did not hesitate a moment. He applied to Theophilus Parsons, then rising to distinction in the practice of the law, who readily opened the way for him, and on the 15th of July, 1790, at the age of twenty-three, he appeared before the then small world of Boston as a citizen seeking his fortune with his own hands, whether for evil or for good, like everybody else.

Yet, whilst patiently waiting for business, he was not inattentive to the political movements of the country, and especially to the discussions springing from the overthrow of the French monarchy, in which Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine had drawn so largely upon the popular attention in both hemispheres. Stimulated perhaps by the attacks made by Paine on some abstract speculations on government published by his father, the young disputant, in 1791, boldly came forward in the Boston newspapers with a series of papers in reply to him, which at once attracted attention, not merely at home in America but in Great Britain, France, and other countries of Europe.

One of these productions, when printed in the newspapers of America, met the eyes of President Washington, and touched him to such a degree that he marked the writer as a person fit for confidence in any emergency in the service abroad. This was followed quickly by his selection of him as Minister Resident in Holland, in May, 1794. On the 17th of September Mr. Adams embarked for the third time on the ocean, and on the 15th of the next month entered London, from which place he lost no time to pass over to Holland, and reach his place of destination on the last day of the year 1794.

A diplomatic post at The Hague is rarely one in which any Envoy from America, since the first one, could expect to gather much direct information or exercise a happy influence. Mr. Adams remained there quietly, with no interruption excepting that created by the arrival and presence of the Representatives of the French Convention detailed to accompany and observe the officers of their armies. But it was not long before a sudden call came from his own government to change the scene. The American Minister at London, Mr. Thomas Pinckney, had been called to Spain just at a time when the exchange was to take place of the ratification of the much belabored Treaty so universally known as Jay's Treaty. Mr. Adams, as the nearest person at hand, had been sent for to do that duty in Mr. Pinckney's place. But he had been detained so long by the obstacles of a winter passage across the Straits that when he arrived he found the work had already been done, with the assent of the British authorities, by Mr. Deas, the Secretary of Legation. The experience he went through with Lord Grenville, then the Foreign Secretary, has already been laid before the public in the publication of his Diary. It is sufficient here to say that he acquitted himself of a delicate task without a mistake. This was the first trial in that line of life which he had embraced, and he passed it safely.

In 1797 two events happened to Mr. Adams which suddenly changed the course of his life. The first was the succession of his father to the Presidency of the United States; the second was his own marriage. Before going out of office President Washington had transferred him from his place in Holland to a similar one at Lisbon in Portugal. On leaving office he had gone so far as to write a letter to his successor, earnestly soliciting him, without regard to his relationship, to retain his son in public life, as being likely, if continued, to prove himself the ablest man in the diplomatic corps. That successor was his father, John Adams, who, mindful of the injunction, did no more than to transfer his place of destination from Portugal to Prussia, the difference being chiefly that there would be something for him to do in one place rather than nothing in the other. The Treaty made with Prussia at the close of the Revolution, limited to ten years, was about to expire, and it was deemed of importance to obtain modifications of its terms in case of renewal. After some hesitation these considerations seem to have prevailed in the minds of the ratifying Senate, and the nomination was accordingly confirmed.

The other event was his marriage to Louisa Catherine, daughter of Mr. Joshua Johnson of Maryland, a person who had been sent out to France in the early days of the Revolution, in the capacity of Consul, for the purpose of settling the public accounts there, and had been subsequently transferred to London in the same capacity, as soon as the new government had been acknowledged by Great Britain. The married couple now took their departure from London on the 18th of October, 1797, in a vessel which landed them at Hamburg on the 26th. From thence they proceeded by land to Berlin, which they reached in safety, by the slow progress of those days, on the 7th of November.

Mr. Adams remained at Berlin for a period of nearly four years, in the course of which he succeeded in arranging a modified extension of the old Treaty about to expire by its own limitation. Having abundant leisure left on his hands, and his wife's health being very delicate, he spent a portion of time in brief excursions over other parts of Germany, noting the results of his observations in private letters addressed to his relations at home.

Just at the same moment Mr. Joseph Dennie, an intimate acquaintance of his brother then residing in Philadelphia, was projecting the publication of a weekly magazine still remembered as the Portfolio; and the idea of appropriating these letters, which he read as they arrived, to aid his project, at once occurred to him. Scarcely had this feat been performed, without the consent of the author, when another person pounced upon the sheets, transferred them from Philadelphia to London, and published them there in a volume, in 1804, under the title of "Letters on Silesia by His Excellency John Quincy Adams, &c." The very next year saw them transferred with as little ceremony into German by one Friedrich Gotthelf Friesc, with comments by Friedrich Albert Zimmerman, and published at Breslau; and, last of all, they were passed into French in the same surreptitious manner by one J. Dupuy, and published by Dentu at Paris in 1807, he having the courage to threaten prosecution for any abuse of the copyright, all of which happened without a single whisper of the news coming to the legitimate owner until many years afterwards.

On the 4th of September, 1801, Mr. Adams landed in a vessel at the wharf in Philadelphia, after his second absence from home, which had lasted seven years. He at once proceeded to Massachusetts, and resumed his profession in the yet comparatively small town of Boston, just as if nothing had happened. Yet the country had taken many steps in the interval in its political advance. The Federal party, which had earned the credit of organizing an effective system of government, had become a minority in the country at large, and after a close contest had given way to what was then called the party of Republicans, with Mr. Jefferson at their head, established in the chair of the Presidency. Yet it still retained its hold upon a large part of the population, especially Boston and the States of New England. At the next general election Mr. Adams was returned as one of the four Federal Senators elected from the town of Boston. Later in the same year he was put up, without any agency of his, as a candidate for Representative to Congress, in opposition to the sitting member, and he lost the election by a difference of fifty-nine in a sum total of nearly four thousand votes. The Legislature assembled soon after, and Mr. Adams took his seat in the Senate of the State on the 13th of January. But he had held it barely three weeks when another election of far more importance came up for settlement by that body. This was the choice of a Senator of the United States for a term of six years. On this occasion the first symptoms of a difference of sentiment in the party ranks began to show themselves. In the popular branch of the Legislature it was found impossible to concentrate a majority upon Mr. Pickering, the favorite of the more vehement politicians, so that after three trials they yielded, and Mr. Adams was elected by a majority of one vote over all other candidates. In the Senate the Federal vote for concurrence was not divided, so that the election thus became complete.

On the 21st of October, 1803, Mr. Adams took his place in a wholly new field of action, the Senate of the United States at Washington. Not long afterwards Mr. Pickering was chosen to fill the vacancy occasioned by the withdrawal of the other Senator. Considering the past relations of that gentleman with his father whilst in the Presidency, it was scarcely to be expected that any cordiality could be felt between them. This state of things gradually assumed a more positive shape as public events of the most grave nature followed each other. The differences chiefly grew out of the foreign policy adopted by President Jefferson, — a policy not favored by the majority of the people of Massachusetts. Towards the close of the period of his term, the Legislature then in being having thought it proper to pass in advance some resolutions reflecting upon his conduct, Mr. Adams promptly replied by a letter, conveying an immediate resignation of his post.

As very often happens in the stormy conflicts of political life, an attempt on the part of one party to throw out a public man of recognized power, holding strong opinions, immediately rouses the sympathy of the other side, and a corresponding earnestness to sustain him. It is not at all unlikely that this was the leading motive of Mr. Madison, then succeeding to the Presidency, in establishing a new and responsible office and offering it to Mr. Adams at that moment. Certain it is that, without any agency on the part of Mr. Adams, the President sent to the Senate a nomination of him as Minister to Russia. This was a renewal of the unsuccessful attempt made twenty-five years before in the case of Mr. Dana. For a moment the Senate, stirred by the successor of Mr. Adams, opposed the confirmation, and the motion was carried by a majority of two. But it proved labor in vain. A few weeks later Mr. Madison renewed it, fortified this time by reasons, and on the next day it was confirmed by the large majority of nineteen out of twenty-six Senators.

On the 5th of August, 1809, Mr. Adams, with his wife and his youngest child, embarked on board the ship Horace, a merchant vessel then fitting out, at the wharf in Charlestown, Massachusetts, by William Gray, for St. Petersburg. The trip proved long and stormy. He did not reach his destination until the 23d of October, making seventy-five days.

And here it should be remembered what a change had come over his country as well as himself since that first visit to St. Petersburg. He had been there when almost a boy, twenty-six years before, acting as the Secretary of Francis Dana, then sent by the American Congress in the hope of gaining some favor from the Empress Catherine to promote the great object of national independence. Failing in this at that time, no further effort had been made until now, when overtures seem rather to have originated from the other side, inviting the very relations that had been then declined. The change, coming as it did, in the midst of the confusion prevailing among the nations of Europe, and the climax of the domineering spirit of Great Britain over the seas, was not a little significant. Hence it happened that in the very same splendid mansion in which young Adams had been before invited to the table of the Envoy of Louis XVI. as a mere mark of sympathy to soothe an adverse response to the American prayer, the matured statesman was now formally ushered to partake, on an equal footing with all other diplomatic Envoys, including that of Great Britain, of the hospitality of the first Minister of the Empire. In this position Mr. Adams remained for nearly six years, a close observer of the fearful struggle, so nearly successful, of the desperate expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte. It seemed as if war had become the ruling passion of all Europe, and had at last spread itself over the farthest seas as well as all the land. Great Britain, not satisfied with its share of the great conflict in Europe, entangled itself so far with America that it transported armies and navies to maintain a vigorous assault even on the people of the United States. Mr. Adams could only be, from a long distance, an anxious spectator of this scene.

It was just at this crisis that the confidence which Mr. Adams had inspired in the mind of Count Romanzoff by his previous relations with him, led him to suggest the possibility of interposing the friendly hand of Russia towards a reconciliation between the two countries. This proposition was of course met by Mr. Adams in the spirit in which it was intended, though without the assumption of any authority to act in the premises. It was forwarded in course to America, and the offer was accepted. Such was the origin of what proved to be the Joint Commission of Negotiators respectively appointed by Great Britain and the United States to negotiate a peace. Of that Commission, on the part of the United States, Mr. Adams was one among five persons selected by the President for the duty.

Such was the origin of what was called the Mediation Mission, which ultimately resulted in the assemblage of Negotiators of the respective parties in Europe to secure a peace. The place ultimately selected was Ghent in ancient Flanders, and the time fixed the early part of August. The session commenced on the 8th of that month, and after earnest contention both within and without the Commission, a Treaty was happily completed by the respective parties on the 24th of December, 1814. Of the details of this negotiation it is not necessary to say more than that Mr. Adams may justly claim his full share of honor as an active member in securing the happy result. This duty performed, he repaired to Paris, whence he immediately wrote to his wife at St. Petersburg his decision not to return, and his wish that she should leave that city as soon as possible and come by land to join him. She accordingly, in the depth of winter, set off from that capital in a carriage and post-horses, with one child, the writer of these lines, and only two servants to accompany her the whole way. She happily met the trial even of passing alone through the ranks of the French army on their way to test the last chances of their great leader, and joined her husband at Paris on the 23d of March, 1815.

Peace being once more restored to the exhausted nations of the civilized world, Mr. Adams received despatches from home apprising him of his appointment to the post of Minister to the Court of Great Britain. Accordingly he at once took the necessary steps to transfer himself to London, which place he reached on the 26th of May, 1815. His residence there was, however, eventless and short, little exceeding two years. At that period the term of Mr. Madison's Presidency expired, and Mr. Monroe succeeded to it. His advancement vacated the place of

Secretary of State, which led to a change in the Cabinet, and the selection of Mr. Adams to succeed to that post. On Sunday, the 15th of June, 1817, he, with all the members of his family, embarked from Cowes in the Isle of Wight, on board of the ship Washington bound for New York. On the 6th of August the ship arrived, and Mr. Adams landed on American soil after a fourth absence, never again to leave it. Eight times had he crossed the ocean, and nineteen years of his life had been spent, more or less of it, in the foreign service of his country.

His career had thus far been largely connected with the great events which had been agitating the most powerful communities of the globe. From this date to the end of his life it becomes as closely connected with the peaceful direction of public events at home. On the 20th of September, 1817, he arrived at Washington, and reported himself to the State Department ready to assume the duties to which he had been called. The President being absent from the city, he immediately applied himself to such work as he found assigned to him. One subject early presented to his attention was a resolution of the House of Representatives, drawn out by the last message of President Madison, reminding Congress that no adequate provision had yet been made for securing uniformity of weights and measures, as proposed in the Constitution, and suggesting some action on the subject. This was in a measure a novel topic, though not quite unknown to Mr. Adams by reason of his acceptance of a similar suggestion previously offered by President Jefferson, and much study and experiment of the matter in Russia. In fact, the work occupied him for a considerable period of his official term. This report was not made to the Senate until February in the year 1821. It has ever since occupied much of public attention in both hemispheres, and has been reprinted by Professor Davis as forming the best treatise on the subject for the use of schools.

But it was not merely in abstract treatises that Mr. Adams confined himself during the eight years that he occupied that high office. The relations with foreign countries were carefully watched, especially the misunderstandings growing out of adjoining limits of territory. Those with Spain especially, not entirely clear in the definitions of boundary, had been suddenly complicated by arbitrary proceedings, in certain cases, of the chief military officer commanding in the South, General Andrew Jackson. In the controversy which ensued between the Secretary of State and Don Luis de Onis, the Envoy of Spain, the duty of defending him fell upon the former, and he did it successfully in a national point of view. But the most effective triumph was the successful negotiation of a Treaty ceding the whole territory of Spanish Florida to the United States. Thus was an end put to all future danger to the peace of the country flowing from disputed questions of title in that section of the Union. The foreign service had thus become more clear of clouds than at any previous moment of the history of the nation; on the other hand, however, new troubles were slowly rising in the interior of the country. The election of Mr. Monroe as President of the United States by a large majority at the first period, was marked with entire unanimity the second time. A single vote had been excepted, and that only out of complimentary regard for Mr. Adams. No sooner had this ceremony passed away than it became clear that many others than he were in contemplation as candidates during the period of the next struggle, four years later. Their respective partisans became bitter and vindictive to a degree never before witnessed. Mr. Adams, as being perhaps thought the strongest in popular favor, became early an object of assault. Four persons were prominent in this contention, — William H. Crawford of Georgia, then Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, besides Mr. Adams. The struggle was purely personal, there being little or no difference in the respective views of the policy to be continued. When the election took place it turned out that no one of the candidates had the requisite number of electoral votes. As a matter of course the provision of the Constitution came into play, which referred the choice to a majority of the members of the House of Representatives, voting by States. The election took place in the prescribed form, and by the influence exercised by the friends of Mr. Clay, who held the balance in their hands, in 1824, the lot fell upon Mr. Adams, and on the 4th of March of the next year he became President of the United States. He had been elevated by the concurrent action of his own friends and those of a candidate belonging to the Western States, and it very naturally followed that the administration thus coming into power should depend mainly upon a thorough union of the forces which had effected the result. Mr. Henry Clay was, therefore, selected as the fittest person to succeed Mr. Adams in the Cabinet, and offers were made to the existing members of it to continue in their places. All of them assented but Mr. Crawford of Georgia, himself a rival candidate representing the Slaveholding States, but unfortunately invalidated by mortal disease. Thus it was that the new Administration was launched. Its success in acquiring the necessary strength to support it was to depend purely on its own merits, and the chances of gaining the confidence of more or less of the friends of the candidates who had failed. Time soon developed a tendency to concentration in opposition, mainly composed of the slaveholders, which, joining with a preponderating division of the Northern States, and uniting in the popular support of General Jackson, carried everything before it at the ensuing election in 1828.

This union, assuming the name of the Democratic party, exercised for many years a powerful sway over the policy of the country. Neither would it have ceased to exist to this day but for the resistance resolutely carried on in every step of its progress by a popular counteraction raised in the free States against the source of this great power, the development of slavery. The share which Mr. Adams took in initiating that struggle embraces much the larger, as it is the most brilliant, portion of the history of his life.

On the 4th of March, 1829, Mr. Adams, on taking leave of the highest station which the country had to give, appeared at the time to be only following the example set by all his predecessors, of retiring to entire privacy. He had been engaged in the public service in one shape or another for five and forty years, with few and brief intermissions, and it seemed to others as well as himself as if he might accept of an exchange of the toil and trouble of that long period in the great world for a green old age at home. All his predecessors had carefully followed the example set by Washington of close retirement. For about a year and a half Mr. Adams seems himself to have had no other idea. Then the suggestion of any return to public life came upon him most unexpectedly. It had so happened that the Representative in the Congress of the United States for the district in which he lived in Massachusetts, a most respectable clergyman, belonging to a neighboring town, called on him one day to say that he had no desire to continue in the place he held, and further to intimate a wish that he, Mr. Adams, might be induced to consent to succeed to it. Very shortly afterward this suggestion appeared in the columns of a newspaper noted singularly enough for its steady and long-continued abuse of him. No preceding President after retiring had ever thought of accepting a purely political nomination of any kind. Mr. Adams had been the only President who did not close his term at the age of sixty-six, that mystical number around which had terminated the career of all preceding Presidents, and which until then seemed to be hardening into a rule of retirement from public life almost as firm as if enacted by law. Nevertheless, the hint thus suggested in the newspaper was quietly taken up by residents in the district, and Mr. Adams shortly received applications from various quarters to know whether he was ready to break the spell and accept a nomination. On his part he had no hesitation. The call was made and promptly accepted. The consequence was the election of Mr. Adams, at the election in November, 1830, and his continuous service in the House of Representatives for a period of seventeen years until the 23d of February, 1848, when the angel of death struck him prostrate as he was rising to take part in debate.

Mr. Adams was elected an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society on the 20th of February, 1845, being the first honorary member chosen. His letter of acceptance is dated August 1, 1845.

Of his services to the country in the long struggle carried on by him, almost alone, for the maintenance of the great principles of human liberty, at one period almost entirely neglected if not forgotten, there is no space here to discourse. For a great while it seemed as if he led a forlorn hope. The combinations formed at the time of the Presidential defeat in 1828 had, under the strong will of General Jackson, so fastened their powers over the legislative and executive branches of the government that any efforts to break through them seemed next to hopeless. The combat continued, with little or no cessation, under the form of resistance to all effort to suppress liberty of speech. Neither were the fruits of the victory gathered until many and long years had passed after Mr. Adams's death. It was with the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, and the fearful conflict of force that followed, that the true principles of a free country regained their vigor, and the progress of liberty was laid open in conjunction with all other avenues of power on the globe. The right of personal freedom now spread hand in hand among the denizens of all civilization, and the share which John Quincy Adams took in that advance in his own day will remain to fix him in the memory of mankind long after the rest of his brilliant career may have waned into the distant mythology of the past.

It may indeed be that, after this extended view of the public character of Mr. Adams, a want should yet be felt of some acquaintance with the interior of his life. With many who knew him only at a distance and merely as a public character, an impression certainly prevailed that he had a more or less repellent manner, calculated to give an impression of indifference, if not of moroseness, in his relations with general society, and even with his family at home.

In this respect nothing could be more mistaken. In the midst of the most critical portions of his public life it was not unusual with him frequently to diverge from the gravest forms of his public controversy, and discourse with his children or chance strangers, especially on literary or historical questions, and most of all on poetry, to the culture of which he was devotedly attached all his life. Many of his smaller productions are yet to be found in print, especially his versions of some of the Psalms, as well as a great many contributions to ladies, young and old, who earnestly sought to enlist his pen in their books of albums. Few public men had labored so long and so constantly in the study of versification, and especially the art of combining light humor even with serious subjects. A very large number of his productions still remain as they were left by him long before his death. He translated into verse the whole of Wieland's German poem of "Oberon," and would probably have published it had it not been that Sotheby just then had anticipated him; and Lord Byron's fascinating versification in his humorous though wicked poem of "Don Juan" so enchanted him that it at last tempted him to a production himself of a poem entitled "Dermot McMorrough," in the same measure and style, — a work which would probably have met with a better reception from the public had the expectation been less high, and its model not have overshadowed it altogether.

Singularly enough, however, the same tendency led to another production in the same style which was greedily received by the public at the outset, and ultimately became the most popular of all his writings. Copies of it are eagerly sought for even to this day.

The origin of this little work was this: On Monday, the 18th of May, Mr. Adams, being in the room of the Committee on Manufactures in the House of Representatives, set out to go from there to the Chamber of the House. The House had adjourned, and was nearly empty. Not observing the presence of a new kind of matting which the men had been spreading on the floor, his foot was caught in it, and in the effort to save himself he fell and dislocated his right shoulder. The consequence was a confinement at home for a tedious period. Turning in his mind what to do, he recollected that an application had just been made to him by General Ogle, a member of the House from Pennsylvania, for his autograph, on behalf of several ladies of his family. It occurred to him that he could do something to help the tedium of his confinement by furnishing what might at once serve the purpose in hand, and likewise afford some innocent indulgence in this favorite recreation.

Such was the origin of the poem which afterwards received the title of "The Wants of Man." No sooner was it sent to the ladies who had drawn it forth than requests were made to them for copies, and they, in their turn, spread it in various and distant quarters. As he has himself remarked in his Diary, "Nothing that he ever wrote was half so popular. It soon got into the newspapers, but in a variety of mangled shapes. In progress of time the author had added here and there a few stanzas until it reached the number of twenty-five. Immediately after his death, and eight years after it had been written, this poem and a few more of his productions, previously printed, were gathered together by a publisher in New York, and surreptitiously issued from the press under the title of "Poems of Religion and Society, by John Quincy Adams, with Notices of his Life and Character." Since then this leading poem has been inserted by Mr. Emerson in his volume entitled "Parnassus;" but it there appears with errors, and shorn of five of the stanzas. It .is also to be observed that even down to a late date applications have been occasionally made from the distant regions of the North and West for copies as well as earnest calls for a republication.

In consideration of these circumstances, and especially as drawing out what will appear to many as a new side to the author's character,—his tendency to the humorous,—it has been thought best to close this notice with a truly correct version of that poem.

THE WANTS OF MAN

I.

"MAN wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long."
'T is not with ME exactly so,
But 't is so in the song.
My wants are many, and if told
Would muster many a score;
And were each wish a mint of gold,
I still should long for more.

II.

What first I want is daily bread,
And canvas-backs and wine,
And all the realms of nature spread
Before me when I dine.
Four courses scarcely can provide
My appetite to quell,
With four choice cooks from France beside,
To dress my dinner well.

III.

What next I want, at heavy cost,
Is elegant attire, —
Black sable furs for winter's frost,
And silks for summer's fire,
And Cashmere shawls, and Brussels lace
My bosom's front to deck,
And diamond rings my hands to grace,
And rubies for my neck.

IV.

And then I want a mansion fair,
A dwelling-house in style,
Four stories high, for wholesome air, —
A massive marble pile,
With halls for banquets and for balls,
All furnished rich and fine,
With stabled steeds in fifty stalls,
And cellars for my wine.

V.

I want a garden and a park
  My dwelling to surround, —
A thousand acres, (bless the mark!)
  With walls encompassed round,
Where flocks may range and herds may low,
  And kids and lambkins play,
And flowers and fruits commingled grow
  All Eden to display.

VI.

I want, when summer's foliage falls,
  And autumn strips the trees,
A house within the city's walls,
  For comfort and for ease.
But here, as space is somewhat scant,
  And acres somewhat rare,
My house in town I only want
  To occupy — a square.

VII.

I want a steward, butler, cooks;
  A coachman, footman, grooms;
A library of well-bound books,
  And picture-garnished rooms, —
Correggio's Magdalen and Night,
  The Matron of the Chair,
Guido's fleet coursers in their flight,
  And Claudes, at least a pair.

VIII.

I want a cabinet profuse
  Of medals, coins, and gems;
A printing-press for private use,
  Of fifty thousand ems;
And plants and minerals and shells;
  Worms, insects, fishes, birds,
And every beast on earth that dwells
  In solitude or herds.

IX.

I want a board of burnished plate,
  Of silver and of gold;
Tureens of twenty pounds in weight,
  With sculpture's richest mould;

Plateaus, with chandeliers and lamps,
Plates, dishes — all the same;
And porcelain vases with the stamp
Of Sèvres, Angoulême.

X.

And maples, of fair, glossy stain,
Must form my chamber doors,
And carpets of the Wilton grain
Must cover all my floors;
My walls, with tapestry bedecked,
Must never be outdone;
And damask curtains must protect
Their colors from the sun.

XI.

And mirrors of the largest pane
From Venice must be brought;
And sandal-wood and bamboo cane
For chairs and tables bought;
On all the mantelpieces, clocks
Of thrice-gilt bronze must stand,
And screens of ebony and box
Invite the stranger's hand.

XII.

I want (who does not want?) a wife
Affectionate and fair,
To solace all the woes of life
And all its joys to share;
Of temper sweet, of yielding will,
Of firm yet placid mind,
With all my faults to love me still,
With sentiment refined.

XIII.

And as Time's car incessant runs,
And Fortune fills my store,
I want of daughters and of sons
From eight to half a score.
I want (alas! can mortal dare
Such bliss on earth to crave?)
That all the girls be chaste and fair —
The boys all wise and brave.

XIV.

And when my bosom's darling sings
With melody divine,
A pedal harp of many strings
Must with her voice combine.
A piano exquisitely wrought
Must open stand, apart,
That all my daughters may be taught
To win the stranger's heart.

XV.

My wife and daughters will desire
Refreshment from perfumes,
Cosmetics for the skin require,
And artificial blooms.
The civet fragrance shall dispense,
And treasured sweets return;
Cologne revive the flagging sense,
And smoking amber burn.

XVI.

And when at night my weary head
Begins to droop and dose,
A Southern chamber holds my bed,
For nature's soft repose;
With blankets, counterpanes, and sheet,
Mattress and bed of down,
And comfortables for my feet,
And pillows for my crown.

XVII.

I want a warm and faithful friend
To cheer the adverse hour,
Who ne'er to flatter will descend,
Nor bend the knee to power,—
A friend to chide me when I 'm wrong,
My inmost soul to see;
And that my friendship prove as strong
For him as his for me.

XVIII.

I want a kind and tender heart
For others' wants to feel;
A soul secure from Fortune's dart,
And bosom armed with steel:

To bear divine chastisement's rod,
And mingling in my plan
Submission to the will of God
With charity to man.

XIX.

I want a keen, observing eye,
An ever-listening ear,
The truth through all disguise to spy
And wisdom's voice to hear;
A tongue to speak at virtue's need,
In Heaven's sublimest strain;
And lips the cause of man to plead
And never plead in vain.

XX.

I want uninterrupted health
Throughout my long career,
And streams of never-failing wealth
To scatter far and near,
The destitute to clothe and feed,
Free bounty to bestow,
Supply the helpless orphan's need,
And soothe the widow's woe.

XXI.

I want the genius to conceive,
The talents to unfold,
Designs, the vicious to retrieve,
The virtuous to uphold.
Inventive power, combining skill,
A persevering soul,
Of human hearts to mould the will,
And reach from pole to pole.

XXII.

I want the seals of power and place,
The ensigns of command,
Charged by the people's unbought grace,
To rule my native land.
Nor crown nor sceptre would I ask
But from my country's will,
By day, by night, to ply the task
Her cup of bliss to fill.

XXIII.

I want the voice of honest praise
  To follow me behind,
And to be thought in future days
  The friend of human kind;
That after ages, as they rise,
  Exulting may proclaim,
In choral union to the skies,
  Their blessings on my name.

XXIV.

These are the wants of moral man;
  I cannot want them long,
For life itself is but a span,
  And earthly bliss a song.
My last great want, absorbing all,
  Is, when beneath the sod
And summoned to my final call,
  The mercy of my God.

XXV.

And oh, while circles in my veins
  Of life the purple stream,
And yet a fragment small remains
  Of nature's transient dream,
My soul, in humble hope unscared,
  Forget not then to pray
That this thy WANT may be prepared
  To meet the JUDGMENT DAY

MERRITT CALDWELL

Merritt Caldwell was a son of William and Nancy Caldwell, born in Hebron (now Oxford), Maine, November 29, 1806. His mother's name before marriage was Woodward. He prepared for college under the instruction of his eldest brother Zenas, and was admitted to the Sophomore class in Bowdoin College in 1825. He was elected Principal of the Maine Wesleyan Seminary in July, 1828, and was graduated Bachelor of Arts in the following September. Soon after assuming the principalship of the Maine Wesleyan Seminary, he was elected a member of the Board of Overseers of Bowdoin College. In 1834 he was elected Professor of Mathematics in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and two years later was transferred to the chair of Metaphysics and Political Economy, to which Elocution was added a few years later.

Professor Caldwell was a member of the following-named societies: The Calliopean Society of the Maine Wesleyan Seminary; the Athenæan, Enigma, Euphemean, Caluvian, and Theological Societies of Bowdoin College; the Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha of Maine; the American Temperance Union; corresponding member of the Society for the Promotion of Liberal and Common Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Union Philosophical Society of Dickinson College; Natural History, Peithalogean and Philorhetorian Societies of the Wesleyan

University; the Associated Alumni of Waterville College (now Colby); and the Society of Equal Rights of Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Professor Caldwell was deeply interested in the earliest movements to organize an Evangelical Alliance, and visited Europe in 1846 to attend the first meeting of the Alliance at London. At the same time he attended as a delegate the first World's Temperance Convention in that city.

He published, in 1837, "A New Conjugation of the English Verb, and a New Arrangement of English Syntax." In 1838 and 1839 he wrote "Christianity tested by Eminent Men: Brief Sketches of Christian Biography." This was published after his death. In 1845 he published "A Manual of Elocution;" in 1847, "The Philosophy of Christian Perfection." The origin of this work was as follows: In 1841 Dr. J. P. Durbin published, in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," an article on "The Theory of Christ's Temptation." This was severely criticised by some of the Methodist papers, especially by Dr. Abel Stevens, who was at that time editor of the Wesleyan journal published in Boston. In January, 1842, Caldwell published an article in the "Methodist Quarterly Review" in support of Dr. Durbin's theory. Dr. Stevens replied in a subsequent number of the same review; and other articles from Professor Caldwell followed in July, 1843, and July, 1844. Having examined the subject thus far, he desired to put his matured thoughts in a permanent form, and "The Philosophy of Christian Perfection" was written and published.

In addition to these books, he published the following-named pamphlets: "An Address before the Readfield Temperance Society at its First Anniversary, July 4, 1832;" "An Address before the Trustees and Students at the Annual Commencement of Dickinson College

July 16, 1835." This was published in the "Methodist Quarterly Review" in 1836.

He also made the following contributions to periodical literature: "Historical Sketch of Dickinson College," published in the "American Quarterly Register," November, 1836; "Eloquence," in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," July, 1841; also numerous articles in the church and secular papers on temperance and other subjects.

The following are among his unpublished papers: "An Address on Education," before the Kennebec County Association, at Vassalboro', Maine, in 1831; an Address before the Associated Alumni of Waterville College, July 3, 1833; "Science of the Human Mind," a lecture at Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, March, 1836; "Objects of Education," delivered at Shippensburg, and afterwards at Carlisle, December 30, 1839; two lectures on "Sleep and Dreaming," before the Equal Rights Association, Carlisle, February 19 and 26, 1839; "Wealth," a lecture before the students of Dickinson College, December 10, 1842; "What are the True Objects of a Collegiate or Liberal Education?" Baccalaureate Address at Dickinson College, July 13, 1842; "Four Lectures on the English Language;" "A Lecture on the Temperance Movement in its General Bearing and Influence on the Scholar and Education."

His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. B. H. Nadal, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, July 9, 1848. It was published in pamphlet, and is incorporated in the Biography of Dr. Nadal, late President of Drew Theological Seminary, written by Professor H. A. Butts, D. D.

A memoir by the Rev. S. M. Vail, D. D., was published in the "Methodist Quarterly Review," October, 1852. Obituary notices were published in the "Ladies' Repository," in all the church papers, and in many of the secular papers.

Dr. Nadal spoke of the following-named prominent traits of Professor Caldwell's character: moral and physical courage, active philanthropy, moderation, promptness, punctuality, evenness of temper, words, and actions, depth of religious principle, and strong Christian faith.

Twenty-two years after Professor Caldwell's death, William H. Allen, President of Girard College, spoke of him from personal recollection, before the literary societies of Dickinson College, as follows: —

"The mind of Caldwell moved with moderation, but with strength and solidity. He was a deep thinker, a tireless worker, conscientious in the discharge of every duty, punctual as the sun, a faithful instructor, a wise counsellor, a trustworthy friend, an honest man. In his department of instruction, he sought diligently for those principles which form the basis of a true philosophy of the mind, and was laying a broad foundation on which, had life been spared, he would have built a monument to perpetuate his name in that branch of science.

"With less religious enthusiasm than many others possessed, his piety burned with a serene and steady light. As a class leader in the Methodist Episcopal Church, he manifested a breadth and depth of Christian experience which enabled him to guide the penitent, to comfort the desponding, to strengthen the weak, to admonish the erring, and, with words fitly spoken, to encourage all who were trying to make progress in the Christian life. While he studied the 'Philosophy of Religion,' he never confounded religion with philosophy. He recognized philosophy as the handmaid of religion, but refused to make the servant the equal of her mistress. Still less would he countenance the Rationalistic school, who mutilate Christianity that it may fit some Procrustean bedstead of their philosophy.

"As a philanthropist, he was alive to all movements which promised to make men better and happier; but he was especially earnest in behalf of temperance. Not a few persons are still living in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, who remember that after his college work for the day was done, he would often drive to some village or neighborhood to organize a temperance society or deliver an address, and that no inclemency of cold or snow could induce him to fail in an engagement. He did not hesitate to risk his health in combating a habit which is a most fruitful source of poverty and crime.

"Cool and self-reliant in every emergency, undismayed in danger, never disconcerted, never carried away by excitement, his calm judgment maintained its even balance when more impulsive natures were swayed by the passions of the hour."

Professor Caldwell was married, January 29, 1833, to Miss Rosamond, daughter of Samuel and Betsey Rich Cushman, of New Gloucester, Maine. His children were Rosamond Ursula, born November 13, 1833; Samuel Cushman, born April 10, 1836; Anna Clark, born September 14, 1840, and died October 9, 1849.

Professor Caldwell died at Portland, Maine, June 6, 1848. He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, October 5, 1847.

For most of the facts and dates in this memoir, I am indebted to Mrs. R. C. Caldwell, the widow of Professor Caldwell, and to S. Cushman Caldwell, his son, of New York; also to Rev. Dr. Ridgaway, of Cincinnati, who is married to his daughter, and to Dr. E. Clark, of Portland, his brother-in-law. My thanks are due, and are herewith tendered, to these persons for their full and satisfactory replies to my questions in regard to their distinguished relative.

NATHANIEL MORTON DAVIS

The Hon. Nathaniel Morton Davis was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, on the 3d of March, 1785. The distinguished family to which he belonged was not, in the male line, of New England ancestry. His father, the Hon. William Davis, an intelligent and successful merchant, was born in Plymouth in 1758, and died there in 1826. His grandfather, Thomas Davis, was born in Albany, New York, in 1722, and, after passing a portion of his boyhood in Edenton, North Carolina, came to Plymouth on board of a vessel, while yet a youth, as early as the year 1742, and died there in 1785, leaving a competent estate gained in navigation and in mercantile pursuits. The father of Thomas Davis is believed to have been born in England, and to have married Miss Catherine Wendell, of Albany, removing thence to North Carolina. Thomas Davis, the grandfather of the subject of this notice, married, in 1753, Mercy Hedge, of Plymouth, whose ancestry is traced to Governor Bradford, Elder Brewster, and others of the earliest Pilgrims. Their children were: Sarah, born in 1754, died in 1821; Thomas, born in 1756, died in 1805; William, born in 1758, died in 1826; John, born in 1759, died in 1847; Samuel, born in 1765, died in 1829; Isaac P., born in 1771, died in 1855; Wendell, born in 1776, died in 1830.

Of the brothers, one who knew them well has said: —

"There were six brothers in the family, all of whom held offices of public trust under the State and United States governments, with the exception of one only. They have all passed away, and their memory is held in high regard and honor; particularly the late Thomas Davis, a former Treasurer of this Commonwealth, and the late Judge Davis, so well known as the learned and upright Judge of the United States District Court.

"William, another of the brothers, was extensively engaged, in his native town of Plymouth, in mercantile pursuits, and was much regarded for his general knowledge, intelligence, and probity. He was frequently chosen a representative in the State Legislature. Samuel, another of the brothers, was a man of retiring habits and a most modest demeanor, very curious in antiquarian and genealogical research, and dealt largely in the chronicles of former times. It was always perfectly safe to quote him in matters of fact. Wendell, the youngest brother, a graduate of Cambridge, became a member of the Senate of this State at a time when political excitement ran very high. He was esteemed a ready and sharp debater, and distinguished himself by his apt rejoinders to his opponents. He afterwards held the office of Sheriff of the County of Barnstable." *

The Hon. William Davis, mentioned in the above citation, one of the children of Thomas Davis, and the father of Nathaniel Morton Davis, married Rebecca Morton, daughter of Nathaniel Morton, a great-grandson of Ephraim Morton, who was brother of Nathaniel Morton, the well-known author of the "New England Memorial," and Secretary of the Colony. Secretary Morton was also a direct ancestor of the subject of this sketch, through his eldest daughter, Remember. Indeed, Mr. Nathaniel Morton Davis reckoned among his ancestors no less than six of the name of Nathaniel, — so great was the respect entertained by the posterity of the Secretary for his name and fame. Mr. Davis was descended from Governor Bradford by the seventh generation; and by the sixth generation from Thomas Clark, who came in the "Ann" in 1623, and who has been supposed to have been the mate of the "Mayflower."

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* Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc. for May, 1869, pp. 94, 95.

Mr. Davis was prepared for college by the Rev. Zedekiah Sanger, D. D., of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, entering Harvard University in 1800, where he graduated in regular course in 1804. He ranked high in a large class containing scholars of marked ability. He studied law with Theophilus Parsons,—then an eminent counsellor in Boston,—was admitted to practice, and settled in his native town. His father died soon afterwards, leaving him a competent estate,—indeed, what in that day was regarded as a large property; and he never pursued the practice of the law to any extent after that event.

"Connected as he was with so many of the Pilgrims, and living on the spot consecrated by their remains, he was early led to turn his attention to their history, with which he became familiarly acquainted. His taste for these pursuits was much encouraged by his intercourse with his uncles, Samuel Davis and Judge Davis, well known for their antiquarian knowledge and researches. He imbibed much of Samuel Davis's interest in the local history of Plymouth, and there was no one probably so well versed in this matter as he was. His acquaintance with Old Colony genealogy was also very accurate and extensive." *

His style of writing was clear and attractive. He was frequently called upon to deliver orations and addresses on public occasions, and always sustained himself with credit. He delivered the address of welcome at Braintree in September, 1842, upon the reception by his constituents of John Quincy Adams on his return from Congress. It was spoken of at the time as unusually able and felicitous. These occasional productions of his pen have never, it is believed, been published in a permanent form.† His excellent judgment, his thorough knowledge

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* See a notice of Mr. Davis, by the Hon. Nahum Mitchell, in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., IV. 492–94.

† The proceedings of this reception, including Mr. Davis's speech and Mr. Adams's lengthened address, were published at the time in a pamphlet form.

of men, his brilliant colloquial gifts, made him an agreeable companion and a welcome guest among a most cultivated and intellectual society. He had a large circle of relatives and acquaintances who shared his hospitality, which was dispensed with liberality and with the graces which characterized the gentleman of the old school.*

"His fine powers of mind," says Judge Mitchell, "and the respect and confidence which his integrity inspired, would have raised him to eminence in his profession or in public life, had necessity compelled him to exertion. But he was not ambitious of professional or political distinction. He lived, therefore, the quiet and retired life of a country gentleman. He discharged with great credit such trusts and public duties as were from time to time imposed upon him. He was Chief Justice of the old Court of Sessions, a member of each branch of the Legislature, and for several years one of the Executive Council. He was President of the Plymouth Bank, of the Plymouth County Agricultural Society, and of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth."

Mr. Davis was a kind, indulgent, and affectionate husband and father, very domestic in his habits, and devoted to his family. He was conservative in politics, belonging to the Federal party while it existed, and afterwards to the Whig party. In religious belief he was a Unitarian, and a constant attendant upon, and supporter of, religious worship.

He married Harriet, the daughter of Judge Nahum Mitchell, of East Bridgewater. She died a few years only before her husband. They had children, all of whom survived them. They were Abby Mitchell, William, and Elizabeth Bliss. His sister, Betsy Davis, became by a

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Mr. Adams himself gives a long account of this meeting in his Diary (XI. 250–253). Mr. Davis's glowing tribute quite overwhelmed the venerable patriot, according to Mr. Adams's own record.

* I am indebted to William H. Whitman, Esq., of Plymouth, for some of the materials of this sketch.

second marriage the wife of the Hon. George Bancroft. Mr. Davis was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 30th July, 1840, and of the New England Historic Genealogical Society on the 3d of February, 1848. He died suddenly at the United States Hotel in Boston, 29th July, 1848, of inflammatory sore throat, while engaged in the settlement of the estate of his uncle, Judge John Davis, of whose will he was the executor.

HARRISON GRAY OTIS

The subject of this sketch was a descendant in the sixth generation from John Otis, who came from Hingham in the County of Norfolk in England, and arrived here in June, 1635. He took the "Freeman's Oath" the 3d of March following. His son, John Otis, Jr., married Mary, a daughter of Nicholas Jacob.

The third in descent was Judge John Otis, a man held in high repute for his legal knowledge in those times. He married Mercy Bacon. His son, Colonel James Otis, also a distinguished gentleman of his day, married Mary Allyne. Their son, Samuel Allyne Otis, was the first secretary of the Senate of the United States, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Harrison Gray, a gentleman who, though a loyalist, was much respected by both parties, having been Treasurer of the Province before the Revolution. Their son, Harrison Gray Otis, was born in Boston, October 8th, 1765.

Colonel Thomas Handsyde Perkins, who was his most intimate friend for eighty years, thus describes him as a boy: —

"I remember Harry Otis as long as I can remember anything. We played together when we were mere babies; our fathers and mothers being great friends, and my father, Mr. James Perkins, having an unbounded admiration for his uncle, James Otis, the patriot. Harry Otis was always the handsomest, brightest, and most charming boy of all our companions. Everything he did was better done than any of the rest of us could do it. Whilst during the siege of Boston my mother, then a widow with her children, was living at the Bacon Farm in Barnstable, under the care of Squire Bacon, Harry Otis was often with us. In vacation and on Saturdays during the fishing season we used, with my brother James, to go trout-fishing in Mashapee and Santuit Rivers with great success. We never kept trout much under a pound in weight, putting the smaller ones back into the stream. Although we were so young, we were allowed to use guns; my mother saying that she did not know but that we might be called upon some day or other to fight for our country and she wished us to understand the use of a gun. Sometimes we joined the deer-hunts on the hills, or during the autumn shot flight-birds on Barnstable Great Marshes. I remember that on one occasion — but this I think was during a visit which we made a few years later to Barnstable — Otis and I went out on the marshes to shoot against one another, he going to the north toward Sandwich and I keeping to the south. At the end of the day I brought in some seventy large birds, half of them killed by single shots with a gun having but one barrel and a flint lock, and was delighted to find I had beaten Harry, who had, however, killed but a very few birds less than I had.

"After the evacuation of Boston by the British my mother returned to her house in State Street. Harry and I, who had been prepared for college together, used often to talk of our future prospects; for my mother had decided that, owing to her losses during the war, she could not afford to send me to Cambridge, and therefore I was to be placed in a counting-room and he went to the university.

"One day, just before Otis was examined for college, we went together to the old mill-pond in Boston for a swim, as was our custom during the summer months. While we were swimming about I heard a cry of distress from Harry and saw him go down. At first I thought he was at play, as he was a very perfect swimmer, but on going towards him and seeing that he did not come up, I dove, and found him under water and dragged him to the surface as soon as possible. Fortunately there was a large spar floating near us, to which I bore him and on which I placed him, for he was quite unable to help himself. I then pushed him and the spar to the shore, where, some men coming to our assistance, he was saved and taken home." Here the old Colonel remarked, with a twinkle in his eye, "After that I think I was a greater favorite with the Otis family than ever. Harry always said he had enjoyed many good times in this world owing to my getting him out of that pond."

What seems curious to us now is that Colonel Perkins said, he and Otis, after their return from Barnstable, used to go shooting for Teal in August in a creek which must have been near where Dover Street now is; and that he had shot snipe where the playground on the Common is now, at the foot of the hill on which stands the Soldiers' Monument.

Mr. Otis well remembered the morning of the 19th of April, 1775; for on leaving his father's house to attend the Latin School as usual, he found the whole of what is now Tremont Street lined by the brigade commanded by Lord Percy, afterwards the Duke of Northumberland. The troops were drawn up from Scollay's Square to far beyond School Street, and he was not allowed to pass into School Street, so, going round by that square, he reached the school in time to hear Master Lovell give the order, "Deponete libros." There were no lessons on that day, and Lord Percy marched out and covered the retreat of the King's troops on the road from Lexington.

In the year 1848, soon after the death of Mr. Otis, the reverend and learned Dr. Lothrop, minister at Brattle Street Church, preached a funeral sermon on his life and character from Isaiah iii. 1, 2 and 3. “For behold the Lord hath taken away from Jerusalem the stay and the staff. The prudent and the ancient; the honorable man; the councillor and the eloquent orator.” Dr. Lothrop has in this sermon drawn the life and character of Mr. Otis in so vivid and charming a manner, so truly and so forcibly, that now, after the lapse of thirty years, it seems impossible to improve upon it, and this writer has, therefore, with the permission of Dr. Lothrop, copied the largest part of the remainder of this article from that sermon.

“Mr. Otis was,” says Dr. Lothrop, “prepared for college partly in Boston, and partly at Plymouth and Barnstable, passing a portion of his boyhood at school in these latter places. In one of Mrs. Otis’s letters to her father, Hon. Harrison Gray, she thus speaks of her son: ‘I shall enclose you a letter from Harry of his own writing and inditing, which will enable you to form some judgment of his genius which his tutor tells me is very uncommon.’ He was graduated at Cambridge at the age of eighteen, in 1783, receiving the first honors of a class in which were several other men who subsequently became eminent in public and professional life. Among them were the late William Prescott and Artemas Ward of this city, Ambrose Spencer of New York, and William King Atkinson of New Hampshire. At college he was distinguished for his ready acquisition of some of the more abstruse departments of knowledge, for his rich attainments as a classical scholar, and also for his very brilliant and graceful oratory. Even thus early it was said by his young friends that the mantle of his eloquent uncle, James Otis, had fallen upon him; a declaration which was subsequently confirmed in the judgment of those who in their youth heard the one and in their age listened to the other.

[‘When peace came in 1783,’ says President Samuel

Eliot in the Harvard Book, page 44, 'the first class of the victorious nation received their degrees from President Willard, and their first scholar, Harrison Gray Otis, spoke of the future as it opened before him and his contemporaries. It would be natural to presume,' he said, half a century later, 'that an event adapted to kindle enthusiasm in an orator of the gravest character and age would stimulate the fervid imagination of eighteen to paint in somewhat gorgeous colors the prospects unfolded to our country by this achievement of its liberties and its probable effect on the destinies of other nations. I remember that I did so, and indulged the impulse of a sanguine temperament in building what doubtless seemed to others, and perhaps to myself, castles in the air. But had it been in my imagination to conceive and in my power to describe what we now know to be reality, I should have been considered as ballooning in the regions of bombast, and appeared to be ridiculously aiming to be sublime.']

Upon leaving college Mr. Otis determined to devote himself to that profession which has given so many noble minds to the world, — the profession which, in its high purpose, aims to be the voice of calm reason, arbitrating among the concerns of men, a power to separate the problem from its accidents, to discern the principle amid the circumstances which obscure it, to ascertain and determine justice and right in the conflicts between man and man, — a profession which, for its best exercise and fulfilment, requires a rare combination of mental and moral qualities, and a complete command and frequent application of every intellectual faculty. The fact that Mr. Otis pursued his studies for this profession under the direction and influence of that distinguished patriot and jurist, the late Judge Lowell, is a sufficient evidence both of the thoroughness with which he studied law, and of the high conceptions he entertained of the character, the duties, and obligations of his profession; and were other evidence of this wanting, it would be found in his early professional eminence. Almost instantly upon coming to the bar, in a profession whose early paths are proverbially rugged and thorny, and the ascent slow and difficult, his eminent talents, aided undoubtedly by the favorable circumstances of the times, gave him a rank among the very first; and at an age when young men of the present day are well content to get any business at all, he was employed as senior counsel and advocate in many of the most important causes that came before the courts. In conducting these causes he displayed an extent and thoroughness of legal knowledge, a logical vigor and acumen, which sustained and constantly added to his reputation as a young man of talent; while his winning and persuasive eloquence, investing the dry details of argument with a charm of classical illusion and appropriate illustration, made him a favorite with the people and gave him great popular influence. In alluding to this early period of his life as compared with his political career, I have heard him express the passing regret that he had not kept strictly within the walks of his profession, and sought there an eminence and usefulness that might well satisfy the noble ambition of a noble mind. But this was probably only a momentary feeling. His country, then a young republic, just launched into being, needed the services of all who could help to mark out and guide her course; and whatever was the result of those services in his own case, he could not and did not, on deliberate reflection, regret that he had rendered them. He resisted, however, for several years the repeated solicitations that were made to him to be a candidate for political office, and yielded to them at last in obedience to convictions of duty.

[In 1796 Mr. Otis was appointed United States District Attorney for this district, and his commission from President Washington, together with many other valuable papers, is in the possession of President Samuel Eliot.]

In 1796 he was nominated one of the seven Representatives which Boston then sent to the Legislature of the State, and was returned by a large majority.

Previous to his election to the Legislature, there are two incidents in his life worthy of notice. One of these indicates the public estimation in which he was early held, the other gives some intimation of his own moral principles and feelings at that time. In 1788, three months before he was twenty-three years of age, Mr. Otis was appointed to deliver, before the authorities and citizens of Boston, the Fourth of July oration. No one, I believe, has ever been called to perform this service in this city at so early an age. At that critical period in our history the oration on the Fourth of July was regarded as a much more important matter than it is now. It was, in fact, more important. It was a great occasion, and afforded one of the most direct and powerful means of influencing both the opinions and the feelings of the people on subjects of public and political interest.

The appointment of Mr. Otis to this service, at so early an age, is conclusive evidence, not only of the public respect for his talents, but also of the public confidence in his sound judgment and principles. In the winter of 1791–92, an effort was made to repeal a statute then existing, which absolutely prohibited theatrical entertainments and exhibitions. Some of the most popular and influential men of the town were advocates for the repeal. Mr. Otis, with the venerable Samuel Adams and others, made strenuous efforts to resist and prevent the repeal, and they were successful in postponing it for several years.

In 1796 Mr. Fisher Ames, who had represented this district in Congress from the adoption of the Constitution, having expressed his determination to retire at the close of his term, Mr. Otis was chosen to succeed him. It is no disparagement to the many able and distinguished men then living in this district to say that one more worthy or better fitted to fill the place of such a man as Mr. Ames could not have been found. Questions of great moment agitated the public mind. The opinions, principles, and policy of the two great political parties that had grown up under the Constitution, and, in some measure, out of the Constitution, had become more distinct and more at variance. While neither party was void of anxiety or deficient in zeal, the Federalists especially felt the necessity of selecting their very ablest men to take part in the national council, and help sustain the policy disclosed and the measures pursued by Washington.

Upon the maintenance of this policy and adherence to these measures they believed the peace and prosperity and glory of the country to depend. It was, therefore, no ordinary honor, no small distinction, that, at such a critical period, at the early age of thirty-two, Mr. Otis should have received this mark of public confidence and been clothed with the high trust of representing, in the Congress of United States, one of the most important commercial districts in the Union. That confidence was well repaid in the ability, firmness, and independence with which he fulfilled his trust.

He was among the most efficient members of the House during the time he held his seat. On retiring from Congress he resumed the practice of law in this city, and devoted himself assiduously to professional duty for several years. The political excitement and violent party spirit that prevailed over the land during the first fifteen years of the present century were so great that no man, however disposed to be quiet, could avoid participating in them to some extent. The state of the country was too critical and the measures pursued and the questions at issue too important for any good citizen, who felt his responsibilities, to remain an inactive and indifferent spectator. During all these years, therefore, whether in or out of office, Mr. Otis was active in political affairs. He was often a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, where he exerted a large influence upon the political action of the State. At different times he was repeatedly chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives and President of the Senate. We can readily believe the declaration that he discharged the duties of presiding officer with an ease, urbanity, promptness, and impartiality that have seldom been equalled and never surpassed. He often left the chair to participate in debate, and thrill the assembly by an eloquence as manly and vigorous as it was polished and graceful.

Among those with whom he sympathized and in conjunction with whom he acted at this period, were such men as Theophilus Parsons, Nathan Dane, Fisher Ames, Rufus King, George Cabot, Thomas Davis, Christopher Gore, Samuel Dexter, William Prescott, John Brooks, John Phillips, Timothy Bigelow, [and Thomas Handsyde Perkins.] It would be much to say of any man, and is just and true to say of Mr. Otis, that he possessed the confidence and friendship of these men. They put him forward as a leader on many important occasions. They had the highest respect for his intellectual ability, his wisdom and judgment as a statesman, his patriotism and his integrity.

The important event in his life during this period — the first fifteen years of the present century — was his connection with the convention which met at Hartford, in December, 1814. Of this body he was a prominent member, and in the popular mind at the present day his name is more intimately associated with it than that of any other man. Without discussing the wisdom or expediency of the measure, I will briefly say, in justice to the motives and the memory of as patriotic and upright statesmen as ever trod the soil of New England, and as an expression of individual opinion, founded upon a somewhat thorough and impartial study of the history of that period, that I believe the object of that convention to have been to allay excitement among the people of New England, not to increase it; to check any desire or tendency towards disunion that may have existed, not to encourage or promote it; to protect the rights, the property, the interests, and the homes of the people of the Northern and commercial States, through the Government, acting in its legislative channels, and not to array these rights and interests against the Government, and thus bring in anarchy, rebellion, and disunion. To this conclusion, I suppose, candid and intelligent men of all parties of the present day are fast approaching, if they have not already reached it. The wisdom and policy of the measure will always admit of question, but the time will come, probably, as the objects contemplated are better understood, when to have been a member of this convention shall no longer be adduced as a stigma and reproach, but an honor; and it shall be generally admitted that if censure and disgrace belong anywhere, they rightfully attach to those who, clamorous for the thing before it was held, were the first to cry out against, and the most persevering in their attempts to cry down the men who personally took part in it.

In 1814 the Legislature, to facilitate the administration of justice, instituted a new court, specially for the County of Suffolk, called the Boston Court of Common Pleas. Mr. Otis received the first appointment of judge of this court, and took his seat on the first Tuesday of May in that year. He remained on the bench nearly four years, resigning in April, 1818.

In 1816, when Governor Strong signified his intention to retire from the chief magistracy of the Commonwealth, it was the wish of his friends to nominate Mr. Otis as his successor. But the war had terminated, peace was restored, and no particular emergency in the affairs of the country or the Commonwealth existed. He would not permit his friends, therefore, to bring forward his name as a candidate.

In 1817 Mr. Varnum's term in the Senate of the United States expired, and the Legislature by a strong vote chose Mr. Otis to represent the State in that high council of the nation. Here he fully maintained and added to the reputation he had acquired as an able statesman and a most eloquent orator. His speech in reply to Mr. Pinckney, in the debate on the Missouri question, abounds in all the elements of the highest eloquence, and is on a level with the noblest speeches that have ever been made in that august assembly. In his office of Senator, while he was faithful to all the broad, general concerns of the nation, he was particularly faithful, energetic, and independent in watching over the interests of this Commonwealth, and in pressing its claims for compensation for expenses incurred during the war of 1812.

He resigned at the expiration of the fifth year of his senatorial term, and, on the retirement of Governor Brooks from the executive chair in 1823, he became the candidate of the Federal party for the office of chief magistrate. His competitor was the late Dr. Eustis.

The election was closely contested, with considerable party excitement. Mr. Otis failed, a small majority of the popular vote being in favor of Dr. Eustis. In conversing with him once about this portion of his life, he said, 'My failure in the gubernatorial election of 1823 was a mortification and a severe disappointment to me at the time, but I look back upon it now without regret. I regard it now as the most fortunate event of my life. I have been a happier and better man since I was thrown out of political life than I should ever have been had I remained in it.'

After this election Mr. Otis retired from public life, save that he held for two or three years the office of Mayor of the city. For the last eighteen years he lived wholly in the retirement of private life, in the enjoyment of a green old age and the society of his friends, in the exercise of a large, refined, and graceful hospitality,— the pride, the ornament, and the charm of the social circles in in which he mingled. As a citizen and a man he always retained his interest in public affairs and whatever appertained to the good of this city, the Commonwealth, and the country at large, and through his pen and the press he has occasionally given to the public his thoughts and opinions upon various subjects of public interest. His last act of this kind was his letter upon the presidential election then pending, published just before his death. There will, of course, be differences of judgment as to the conclusions reached in this letter, and some dissent from them, but all will admit that it shows an unabated vigor of intellect, an undiminished ardor of patriotism, and is altogether an extraordinary production to come from the pen of any man at eighty-three years of age. This effort hastened, perhaps, an event that could not have been far distant. Sudden, unexpected, and sad bereavement also helped to accelerate it. His strength failed rapidly, and without any marked disease or severe suffering he gently passed away, so calmly, so peacefully, that we may apply to him the words of the poet so often applied to the death of the aged: —

> 'Of no distemper, of no blast he died,
> But fell like autumn fruit that mellowed hung,
> E'en wondered at because he dropped no sooner;
> Fate seemed to wind him up to fourscore years,
> Yet freshly ran he on three winters more,
> Till, like a clock worn out with eating Time,
> The wheels of weary life at last stood still.'

Such, my friends, is a brief outline of the life of one widely known and highly honored, who has departed from among us. It would be difficult to fill up the sketch and make it a full picture by a just analysis of powers and a faithful delineation of his character. I shall not attempt it. One or two things I feel prompted to say.

There was so much grace, polish, and beauty in everything Mr. Otis said and wrote, that some, I think, have failed to do justice to his intellectual ability, have overlooked the vigor, grasp, comprehensiveness, and acute penetration of his mind. The action and play of his mental powers were so easy that one was apt to forget the profound and subtile nature of the subjects with which he was dealing. His power of nice analysis and sharp discrimination was extraordinary, and the broad and deep wisdom of his thought was often as remarkable as the language in which he clothed it was brilliant and beautiful. It is worthy of observation that the great men of a city, those who are distinguished and influential in their day, are seldom persons born in it. They are persons born in the country, reared under other influences, and attaining distinction by force of character which may be chiefly traced to these influences.

Among the sons of Boston, those born within its limits, reared and educated under its influences, Mr. Otis, in the brilliancy and versatility of his talents, in his various accomplishments as a scholar and an orator, in all the attributes of a great mind, stands in the very first rank. It would be difficult to say who could rightfully stand before him.

Again, there was so much courteousness and urbanity in his manners that many who did not see him often and know him well might be led to do injustice to his sincerity and to the real goodness and kindness of his heart.

The manners are in general an index of the heart. In Mr. Otis that courteousness which an apostle enjoins was, to a large extent, the fruit of that love and good will which the Saviour inculcates. He was a sincere man. He never forgot or deserted a friend. He never cherished and perpetuated an enmity. He was just and charitable in his judgment of others, and in his domestic relations an example of all that was kind, tender, and affectionate. There is one strong manifestation of his sincerity in the undeviating uprightness and firmness of his public career. In this respect that career was one of which no man need be ashamed. His ambition was not stronger than his principles, nor his love of office greater than his love of consistency and integrity. It is not too much to say of Mr. Otis, at least it may be regarded as probable, that if at any time between 1800 and the close of the war of 1812 he had deserted his party and changed his political relations, abandoned his former political opinions (the temptation to do which was at one time presented to him in an alluring form), his ability, talents, manners, and many popular qualities were such that he might have secured almost any political office he desired, might have gratified his highest ambition, might have reached, perhaps, the first and most august honor in the gift of the nation. But he would not do it. Through evil report and good report, through honor and dishonor, he clung to his political faith and principles, and in so doing a distinguished name, which was identified with the cause of American liberty in its early struggle, has been left by him unsullied, to extend its inspiring influence to many generations yet to come."

Harrison Gray Otis died October 28th, 1848. He was admitted an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, March 10th, 1846.

Harrison Gray Otis married, May 31st, 1790, Sarah Foster. Their children were Harrison Gray, married to Eliza Bordman, who was distinguished for her philanthropic labors, her literary ability, and who was for many years the most prominent leader of society in Massachusetts; Allyne, who was drowned when but a youth; James, who married Martha C. Church; William F., who married Emily Marshall; a second Allyne, who died unmarried, and George, who died young; and four daughters,—

Elizabeth, who married George Lyman, Sarah, who married Israel Thorndike, Sophia, who married Andrew Ritchie, and Mary, who died young.

The family of Mr. Otis was remarkable for great intelligence and personal beauty. I well remember numerous parties at the fine old mansion-house in Beacon Street, with its spacious hall and three beautiful rooms *en suite*, decorated with pictures by Copley, Blackburn, and Smybert, which threw over the place the air of good old colony times. There Mr. Otis, surrounded by his children and grandchildren and their friends, moved, the ruler of the revels. He always remembered all our names, and had a kind word and often a pat on the head for each of us.

After an experience of more than forty years in such matters, I have never seen Mr. Otis surpassed in the perfection of his dress, his equipage, his entertainments, or his manners. He always reminded me of a fine old French nobleman, one of those we read of as uniting wit with learning, and great elegance with profound acquirements.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN THOMPSON

THE historian of Long Island, was born at Setauket in Suffolk County, Long Island, May 15, 1784, the oldest son of Dr. Samuel Thompson and Phebe Satterly. Having received a suitable education, he entered Yale College, but did not graduate. He studied medicine with Dr. Ebenezer Sage of Sag Harbor, and having practised it for about ten years he abandoned it for the law. On June 12, 1810, he married Mary Howard, daughter of the Rev. Zachariah Greene of Setauket, and had four children, viz.: (1) Henry Rutgers, born March 17, 1813, died October 15, 1842; (2) Mary Greene, born June 20, 1815; (3) Harriet Satterly, born November 9, 1818, married Jacob T. Vanderhoof; (4) Edward Zachariah, born September 2, 1821, and married Elizabeth Lush, July 10, 1843.

In 1811 he gave the 4th of July oration at Setauket before the members of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order.

In 1812 and in 1816 he was elected a member of Assembly for Suffolk County. In 1814 he served as Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue.

In 1824 he removed to Hempstead and opened a law office and soon had a good practice. From 1826 to 1833 he was the District Attorney of Queen's County, and after his declination of that office was subsequently appointed by the governor a Master in Chancery.

Mr. Thompson had for some time William H. Barroll as a law-partner. His fondness for historical pursuits so grew on him that he gradually allowed his practice to pass from him, as he had already acquired a comfortable support for himself and family.

His fame rests on his History of Long Island. He took Wood's history for his basis and enlarged it by additions drawn from his own original researches. He grew enthusiastic in his work, visiting personally the clerks' offices of all the towns on the Island, extracting the most important parts, especially the lists of first settlers. He also called on the old residents and gathered from their lips a great deal of family tradition and details of genealogy. He has thus preserved from oblivion a good store of folk-lore that but for him would have been for ever lost. He is known to have quoted from records and documents that cannot now be found.

His mind being well stored with varied knowledge from his miscellaneous reading, he often interjected extraneous matter, especially in the notes to his History.

This History is the only one we have. We owe a debt of gratitude to him who was so far ahead of his contemporaries, a pioneer in historical pursuits; for it should be remembered to the honor of Thompson's memory that those revelations had not yet been made at Albany of long-hidden Dutch and English manuscripts that have since been published as the Documentary and Colonial History and the Revolutionary Papers, and others indexed as the calendar of Dutch and English Historical Manuscripts.

In 1839 he published his first edition of the History of Long Island in an octavo volume of 536 pages. In 1843 he published a second edition, greatly enlarged, in two volumes octavo, of 511 and 554 pages. He was making preparation and had actually purchased the paper for a third edition, yet in possession of his family waiting for a publisher, when he was unexpectedly cut off by death. He was sitting at the tea-table of his daughter in New

York, when, feeling unwell, he rose from the table and laid himself on the sofa, and suddenly he ceased to breathe. It was an affection of the heart. On hearing of Mr. Thompson's death, the Queen's County Bar met and passed resolutions expressing their "sense of his legal and literary attainments, his amiable character, and his unblemished integrity, which had secured him the respect and regard of all who knew him." They also complimented him as "a historian who by his annals had conferred additional distinction on the island of his birth."

His portrait was painted by Mount and engraved for the History. It is an excellent likeness.

He was buried at Hempstead.

Mr. Thompson became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, July 15, 1845. He died March 22, 1849.

LOT EDWARD BREWSTER

The subject of this sketch was a direct descendant of Elder William^{1} Brewster, through Love,^{2} William,^{3} William,^{4} Ichabod,^{5} and Ichabod.^{6} He was born at Lebanon, Connecticut, August 15, 1792, in the old homestead, which in 1843 had been in the possession of the family one hundred years, and died at Cincinnati, Ohio, June 21, 1849, of Asiatic cholera, being one of its earliest victims in that city. He was the son of Ichabod (born March 6, 1753) and Lucy, daughter of Colonel Moses Clark. His parents were married November 16, 1772, and were blessed with ten children, of whom Lot Edward Brewster was the youngest.

After school days the task of teaching in the towns of Hebron and Colchester in his native State engaged for some time his attention. Subsequently he entered mercantile life under the guidance of his uncle, Mr. Nathan Morgan, at this time an importer of silks and other costly fabrics at Hartford. Mr. Brewster remained with Mr. Morgan a few years, when, with a Mr. Holmes of Lynchburg, Virginia, he commenced business on his own account in the city of New York, his residence being at Brooklyn.

Subsequently he removed to Newcastle, Pennsylvania, and thence to Cincinnati in 1831, where he continued to reside until his death — still engaged in the wholesale and retail dry goods business.

The following estimate of his character is from the pen of one who knew him well, Mr. Josiah Drake, of Cincinnati: "He was a Puritan in principle, action, and habits. He was firm and decided, yet quiet and retiring; if he made a promise it was as good as a bond, no security was needed. He was truthful and could be implicitly relied upon. Honesty and integrity were the principles which governed his course through life. Like his ancestors of old, if he had an opinion, it was hard to convince him that it was wrong."

Mr. Brewster was a Master Mason; member of a Lodge in New York city; was a member of the City Council of the city of Cincinnati, being three times elected, in 1841, 1844, and 1845. He was admitted a member of Harmony Division, Sons of Temperance, May 18, 1847. He married Elizabeth Rich Hubley, daughter of Colonel Bernard Hubley, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 27, 1822, at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. They were married by the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg of the Episcopal Church. They had four children: Angelina Clark Brewster, Elizabeth Hubley Brewster, Charles Morgan Brewster, Emma Cora Brewster.

Angelina Clark Brewster, through whom much information of Mr. Brewster has been obtained, married W. C. Mellen, of Holliston, Massachusetts, and resides in Hamilton County, Ohio. She states that she now has in her possession a deed of land in Duxbury, dated August 15, 1734, signed by William Brewster, her great great grandfather. She also has a book,—Bunyan's "Holy War;" it was the property of William Brewster 3d, printed in London, Golden Bell, Duck Lane, 1721: also a silver spoon owned by her great great grandmother, handed down from generation to generation until it came into her possession by the death of her father, L. E. Brewster, in 1849.

Mr. Robert Hosea, of Cincinnati, offers the following tribute to his memory:—

"My personal acquaintance with Mr. Brewster who, at the time of his death, was the honored President of the New England Society of this city, was chiefly through our intercourse as officers of the society, but I very soon learned to love him for his strict integrity and his precision in all matters connected with his duty as an officer.

"These admirable qualities of earnest devotion to principle, strict integrity, and a careful precision, in even small matters, which so eminently distinguished him, came very naturally from his great ancestor, 'Elder William Brewster,' whose name appears the third upon that memorable 'covenant and compact' signed on board the Mayflower by the Pilgrim Fathers before landing at Plymouth in 1620, creating the first '*civil body politic*,' so far as known, in the history of mankind.

"Lot E. Brewster was one of the founders of the New England Society of this city. He was deeply interested in its organization, and though engaged in the commission business as a member of the firm of 'Brewster and Woodruff' he found time to devote to its interests. His name appears in the list of signers to the Constitution and Charter in the same order as that of his great progenitor in that of the Mayflower, — the third from the top.

"He filled at different times the offices of Secretary, Treasurer, and President, and was an active member of most important committees. His books, while Treasurer, were kept with the most scrupulous exactness, and this quaint preface in one of them indicates something of the old Elder's blood: —

"'MEMORANDUM.

"'For all sums of money received by L. E. Brewster from sundry members of this society for dues, initiation-fees, &c., he left (with such as paid) a bill of particulars, signed with his own name, which voucher of course corresponds with the collection made as entered in this book.

"'In case any member alleges hereafter that he paid L. E. B. more than is credited to such member, then he must exhibit said voucher to prove his assertion true or false.'

"He was greatly interested and instrumental in collecting a library of books appertaining mainly to the early History of New England, which at his death amounted to about 250 volumes of rare old books now in charge of the 'Historical and Philosophical Society' of this city. At the last meeting of the New England Society before his death, at which he presided, he directed the attention of the board to certain missing books, and ordered a correspondence with the Smithsonian Institution, requesting a copy of their publications for the library.

"No higher eulogy can be paid to any man than Lot E. Brewster is entitled to: 'That he lived and died a Christian gentleman.'"

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the New England Society, of Cincinnati, held a few days subsequent to his death, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted: —

"Whereas, this Society has heard, with profound regret, of the sudden death of Lot E. Brewster, the late President of the Society, at his residence in this city, on Thursday evening, 21st instant, an active and most efficient officer of the same, and whereas, his zeal in behalf of the object and interest of the association from its foundation, his upright and benevolent character as a man and neighbor, were justly appreciated by the members of this Society, as well as by all who knew him, —

"Wherefore, resolved that, as a mark of respect for our deceased brother, the members of the New England Society be requested to attend his funeral.

"*Resolved*, That we sympathize deeply with the family of the deceased and extend to them our heartfelt commiseration, and that a copy of these proceedings be entered upon the records of the Society and published in the prints of the city."

And still later, at the annual meeting in December, resolutions were passed which say of him: —

"He had been long favorably known in this city as an upright and worthy man, illustrating in his life the distinguishing principles of the New England character."

Mr. Brewster became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society October 16, 1845. He was warmly interested in the objects of this society. Having been engaged several years in collecting materials and putting in form a genealogical history of his ancestors and several collateral families, he realized how much more can be accomplished in genealogical research by co-operation and organization than by individual effort.

The facts in this sketch have been derived from materials furnished to the committee by Messrs. Josiah Drake, Robert Hosea, and Albert H. Hoyt of Cincinnati, and from a letter of Mr. Brewster, dated August 4, 1845, to the corresponding secretary of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

THEODORE LYMAN, JR.

Theodore Lyman, Jr., was born February 20, 1792, and was of the sixth generation from Richard the Pilgrim, who was baptized at High Ongar, Essex County, England, October 30, 1580, and, with his family, came to New England in 1631, in the same ship with John Eliot. Richard's son John, who was also born in England, in 1623, married Dorcas Plum, January 12, 1654, and settled in Northampton, where his son Moses, born February 20, 1662, also lived. His son, of the same name, was born in 1689, and married Mindwell Shelton, December 13, 1712. Despite the burden of ten children, he evidently throve on the ancestral acres of Northampton; for his son Isaac (born February 25, 1725) was sent to Yale College, where he graduated in 1747. He married Ruth Plummer, of Gloucester, April 24, 1750, and was settled over the parish in Old York, Maine. He remained there the rest of his life; and there his son Theodore was born, January 8, 1753. Theodore moved to Boston, and became a successful merchant. For his second wife he married, January 24, 1786, Lydia Williams, a niece of Colonel Timothy Pickering. The subject of this memoir was the second son of this marriage. It is an illustration of the health and fruitfulness of these seven generations in direct male descent, that their average age was sixty-six and one-half years; and, although only one of them was married twice, the average number of their children was eight.

Theodore Lyman, Jr., received his early education at Phillips Exeter Academy, and graduated at Harvard College in 1810. His strong literary taste was wisely fostered by his father, who, in 1812, sent him to Edinburgh to study at the University. He remained about two years, living in the family of the Rev. Robert Morehead,[*] a learned graduate of Oxford. The following letter, sent after he had left Edinburgh for the Continent, shows how affectionately he was remembered, and paints the quiet life of an old-fashioned scholar, who took young men to "read" with him: —

HATTON HOUSE, August 12, 1814.

MY DEAR LYMAN, — I have often blamed myself much in being so long of writing you, even before I received your last kind letter by the Alisons,[†] who brought it in safety, and the superb lace, with which Mrs. Morehead was much flattered, and at the same time discomposed that you should have sent her so valuable a present. In consequence of my delay in writing, I can, however, now inform you that about six weeks ago Mrs. M. brought me a little boy, and has since recovered well. Moreover, about a week ago, your fair countrywoman, Mrs. Jeffrey,[‡] had a little daughter, and everything promises well with her too; so that here are two loads of anxiety off our shoulders. We had all come out to Hatton, when Mrs. Jeffrey was hurriedly obliged to make her retreat back again into Edinburgh for the purpose above-mentioned, and Mrs. M. has gone to attend her. Mr. John Jeffrey and all the children are here with me, and I go in and out of Edinburgh as I used to do last summer when you were with us. We live much the same kind of life; and if you were among us again, you would almost forget that you had seen French marshals, philosophers, and ladies, none of whom, I hope, are making inroads upon your virtue.

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[*] He was the playmate and lifelong friend of Francis Jeffrey, whose first wife was Mrs. Morehead's sister. Mr. Morehead, at that time settled in Edinburgh, was afterwards rector of Ensington, where he died, December 13, 1842.

[†] The family of Archibald Alison, author of the "Essays on Taste," and father of Sir Archibald Alison, the historian.

[‡] Wife of Francis Jeffrey, the reviewer and jurist. She was an American, — a Miss Wilkes.

I am glad you meet the Alisons occasionally. It would help to keep up your recollection of Edinburgh, which I am happy to see is not likely to be soon worn out. Indeed, my dear Lyman, it is very pleasing both to my wife and myself to perceive that among so many interesting objects to fix and employ your thoughts, you have not forgotten us, and the little domestic scenes in which you passed your time here. There are with me two new youths, who give me no sort of trouble, and are quite inoffensive in their conduct; one of the name of Colston, — who, I think, had not been mentioned to me before you went away, — who now occupies your little turret, and reads as close at something or other as you used to do at Grotius. He is exceedingly good-natured; but he is not Mr. Lyman, and I do not think Isabella* pays him so many visits as she used to do to you. She bids me tell you that if you come back to see her, she will not refuse you as many kisses as you please. She is in excellent health, and is just going to be conveyed to Glasgow. There she will be some months with Dr. Brown, one of whose daughters is coming to us in exchange. Poor little Lockhart is not quite so stout, but she preserves all her spirits and good-humor. My other youth is Scudamore, of whose approach you heard. He is likewise very tractable, and is fond of nothing so much as a horse, which he has just bought, and for which he possesses the Anglomanie. I was much delighted a few days ago, while I was working at my old seat where you stormed the fortress of wasps, with the appearance of Hyett, who came out here for quarter of an hour. He came with Archibald Alison,† who took him up at Gloucester on his way home. You see I write you absolutely nothing, but this is what you will best like to read. You know I give myself very little concern with state affairs, or any affairs except those that pass before my eyes. I sometimes, however, have a hankering after Paris; but, even under your sage conduct (for I would make you my Mentor), I fear my *morale* would be in danger in that profligate metropolis. I should be ready to scale the Alps with you, but I doubt much whether I shall ever get out of this little contemptible island. It is really a hard thing in a man's lot to be tied by the foot in such a place. By the way, Leslie * is in Paris, living with Berthollet, Cuvier, and the Lord knows who. I wish you would find him out. I had put down his address for you, but I have lost it. I can only tell you that it is at a bookseller's in Rue Voltaire; so that, if you call at all the booksellers in that street, you will hit upon him at last. Tell him to take you to the place where Rousseau wrote his "Héloise." You know we were much amused with Leslie's sensibility on the occasion. It will give me much pleasure to hear from you often, — from France, or Italy, or wherever you may be. In the open state of the posts, a letter will find me, I suppose, without any doubt, with my address in Edinburgh. You must contrive to come to us again before you bury yourself on the other side of the Atlantic. Jeffrey took your letter very kind; I suppose he will take some occasion or other of writing you. I have no doubt I have omitted fifty things which I ought to have told you. S. has gone, and does not return; he got into a foolish love-affair. Fanson left me about ten days ago; him I expect next winter.

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* A little girl, the daughter of Mr. Morehead. She still lives, as Lady Lowther of Wilton Castle. The Rt. Hon. James Lowther, Chief Secretary for Ireland under the Beaconsfield ministry, is her son.

† Afterwards Sir Archibald.

Ever, my dear Lyman, most affectionately yours,

Rob. Morehead.

In France Mr. Lyman found himself at a moment of great public excitement. It was the spring of 1814, when the first restoration of the Bourbons by the Allied armies took place. He there spent several months, and published in the autumn, just after his return to America, a spirited account of his observations, entitled "A Few Weeks in Paris," † which called forth this wholesome criticism from Dr. Morehead: —

"I was much pleased with your little lively book on that same city (Paris), which contained some very good pictures (I do not mean the city, but the book, — although the city contained once some very good pictures too; but, alas for the glory of France! they are gone); and I should think, if you would look into your memory or your journal, you might make the

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* Sir John Leslie, the physicist.

† A Few Weeks in Paris during the Residence of the Allied Sovereigns in that Metropolis. Boston, 1814. 12mo. It has a preface dated "London;" but only one edition was published, and that one in America.

book a little better still by adding to its stores. If you ever think of republishing it, it might perhaps be worth your while to alter the mode of expression in some instances where it comes too close upon the manner of Sterne, — an author who has never been well imitated, and, indeed, would never have been tolerated had not his singularities an appearance of nature in him self, and are the vehicle of so much wit and sentiment."

As a souvenir of his stay in Scotland, Mr. Lyman published two Letters from Edinburgh (North American Review, Vol. I. pp. 183, 338), in which may be found a lively description of the mode of life, and short sketches of several remarkable men, including Scott, Playfair, Leslie, and Alison.

His Edinburgh friends still remembered him across the water, where he was followed by a letter from Mrs. Morehead, worth transcribing as the composition of a thrifty, educated, quick-witted Scotchwoman.

EDINBURGH, October 24, 1814.

MY DEAR MR. LYMAN, — You must think me a very ungrateful woman never to have written a single line since you left us, not even to thank you for the beautiful lace you sent me from Paris. The truth is, the lace rather vexed me. Every proof of kindness and affection from you I feel very deeply, but you might have shown me kindness at much less expense. You know my love of economy is great, much greater than my love of lace. But I need not scold you any more about this, as it will be a long time before you are at Paris again to be tempted to send French lace to your friends. I cannot tell you how much I have felt the want of your society, and how long I have continued to miss you. I had such comfort in talking to you at the fireside, and such reliance on your good sense and prudence, that I was always at my ease with you. And then you understood my character better than most people do, forgave my faults, and never took offence at the inconsiderate things I am apt to say. Mr. Morehead is grown a much better talker. Now that I have few male friends constantly with me, he is rather getting more interest in the passing scene. I force him to listen to me; and if I find that he has not been attending to what I said when I imagined he was, I abuse him so much that he is obliged in self-defence to listen. Still, he *wanders* a little occasionally, and I have no doubt is much relieved when he gets into his dark den, with a great Greek or Latin book before him.

I am just returned from Glasgow, where I was seeing my darling Bell, whom they say we have spoiled by giving her tastes unsuitable to her years, and taking too much notice of her, and making her of more consequence than a little, insignificant girl ought to be. God help us! how we do go on blundering and thinking ourselves so wise! Poor baby! I have been vexed about her; but I dare say we have done wrong (Mr. J.* is the great offender in this business), and it is to keep her out of his clutches we have let her remain all winter in Glasgow, as we reckon by that time his own little girl† will be near ready to begin to spoil. William and Charles are at school. Neither of them promises to be a genius.‡ But I don't care about that; all I want is decent, respectable men, which I trust and hope they will be. You cannot think what a dear little creature Locky is, with her red curled hair, and her eyes as pale as possible; and yet she is not ugly. She is a great pet; but, to avoid falling into the same error with her as with Bell, we keep her more in the nursery. Robby cannot speak a word, and, except with Peggy. is not very popular. There is another little boy since you left us; all that can be said of him as yet is, that his eyes are blue and his cheeks are fat. I, of course, have fifty fancies about him; but, as you are not here to be told about them, I will not tease you by writing about them. The lectures begin to-morrow. Timson is not yet returned; but we have three youths besides him, all very good-natured and tractable. Two of them have been six months with us; one of them only ten days. I think we will probably have a very quiet winter. S. does *not* return. His heart was rather too much softened with the charms of a Hebe in Queen Street; in short, it was thought prudent to keep him this winter in Derby. You know Mr. M.'s sentiments and mine on this tender subject; so you may believe, as soon as we knew what was going forward, we did all in our power to put a stop to it. The youth was in despair, of course. Time will show what he owes to us,—gratitude or resentment.* He behaved very well indeed, and was more reasonable than most youths of nineteen in love. This gave us a good deal of pain. I think the fair one's cheeks grow of a deeper crimson when she sees me, whether with shame or anger I don't know. Of course, I did not appear in the business, but I dare say they suspected I acted as chamber-counsel. I don't think there are any of your friends either married or given in marriage. Here is your *young* fair friend in Castle Street, with her eyes as bright, her cheeks as red, and her smiles as ready as ever. But all in vain, to say nothing of the help of four new dresses suited to the four seasons. That is one of the great uses of the change of seasons, I observe. The widowed mother, dressed in pale blue satin bonnet and spencer, with a countenance suited to the gayety of the color, cannot extort a compliment from Mr. J. J.,† though she recalls the days of his youth by talking to him of her own. Even this agreeable picture brought him has no effect, and she cannot obtain a compliment either for past or present charms. . . .

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* Francis Jeffrey.

† She married Professor W. Empson, June 27, 1838, and brought Jeffrey the grandchildren of whom he speaks so affectionately.

‡ Her estimate of their powers was too modest. Both rose to distinction in the Indian service. William, who died in 1863, held many important offices; among others that of Governor of Madras, and member of the Council. Charles, who is now living in honorable retirement at Edinburgh, was long Principal of the Bombay Medical College.

The Jeffreys are still at Hatton, but they return to-morrow for the season. Mrs. J. looks thin and pale, but perhaps, after the baby is weaned, she will get stouter. Her health is quite good. Mr. J. boasts of his talent for managing the child; sometimes he and I differ on the subject, as we occasionally do on most. J. is just as you saw him, and all my eloquence cannot persuade him to marry. Don't you think I am very disinterested to wish him to marry, considering he spends so much of his time with me, and if he had a wife, he must and would stay at home with her? I don't think he will ever marry, if he is not taken by storm in the sentimental way. Tell me what you think of America, now that you can compare it with other countries; and what you feel and think about everything around you, and if there have been many changes in your absence, and what you intend to do for the time to come, and if all that you have learned and seen has made you wiser and happier than you were before you left home. I hope you will write me as soon as you can get an opportunity. I hope my want of stops and large letters will not annoy you. Mr. M. and I have quarrelled about that for ten years the 27th of next month. The Jeffreys are to return to-day from Hatton for the winter. 'T is just such a day as we left it in last year; you recollect when the coach was loaded like Noah's ark. There is another novel coming forth in December, by the author of "Self-Control," — "Discipline" is its name. Walter Scott is in the press again, — the name of the poem is the "Lord of the Isles;" so you may have an idea of what will be the subject of conversation at all the large parties this winter. When you get the books to read, from the knowledge you have of the opinions and sentiments of your friends here, you may fill up the conversation at your own fireside in Boston.

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* A letter from Mr. Morehead, a year after, gives the happy result of this romantic episode: "The four young men I had last year are all dispersed one way or other. One of them, poor youth! was so much in love with R. M. that his relations did not think it safe to send him back. This obstacle, however, is now out of the way. R. has got herself married about two months ago, much to the satisfaction of her mother and all parties. The husband is an old acquaintance of the family, of the name of S——, who was a captain in the Guards, and has a good estate. When you were in Edinburgh he was a prisoner at Verdun; but even if you had seen him, he probably would have made no impression upon you. He is a good young man, by all accounts, but rather insignificant in his appearance and demeanor."

† John Jeffrey.

I remain, my dear Mr. Lyman, most affectionately yours,

M. MOREHEAD.*

Meantime, his college friend, Edward Everett, had left the parish whose charge he had taken at the boyish age of nineteen, and had gone to Göttingen for a course of severe classical study. The separation of the two young men gave rise to a correspondence, in which Mr. Lyman, for his part, sent all the news furnished by Boston, then a town of about forty thousand inhabitants, governed by selectmen. His account of the great gale, immortalized by Dr. Holmes, is quite vivid.

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* Margaret Morehead died February 18, 1849. Cockburn's Life of Jeffrey, Vol. I. p. 404.

Boston, Monday, September 25, 1815.

Somebody says, my dear Everett, that the Germans have the dominion of the air, and it is for this reason that I am coming with a most contrite heart to beseech you to send us a German magician, or some such foreign monster, in order to still our winds and waves; for the melancholy fact is, that day before yesterday we had a genuine West India hurricane, fresh as possible (and be hanged to it!) from the Tropics. And indeed, the whole month past, the disasters at sea have been frightful beyond any former experience. This tornado has been creeping to the northward for the last three or four weeks. First it shipwrecked a score or two of vessels in the West Indies; then demolished a score or two of plantations and slaves in South Carolina. And so it has been blowing and whirling and bellowing along the whole coast, till Saturday morning, at half past nine, Euroclydon came down upon us with such fury as if we had a dozen of prophets and apostles in the town to tear in pieces. It lasted two or three hours, and numberless are the chimneys, trees, balustrades, fences, &c., that have bowed before the blast. How many lamentations has poor Madam Scott* made over that beautiful row of elms opposite her house, which, with about fifteen of the largest trees in the mall, have been levelled! And my hale grandmother † is filled with fear and dismay even to this moment from the shock of the downfall of her two beloved chimneys, one of which, to my uncle J.'s great tribulation, broke fifty bottles of his best Madeira. In town we have lost only two vile poplars; but at Waltham two of the limes opposite the house have bit the dust, and two others are so bent and shattered that they must go, besides forty or fifty of our largest apple-trees, and many large forest-trees. Two of the chimneys of Hollis College are blown down; and that unfortunate Cambridgeport, that has suffered so much from the plots and plans of men, there is hardly a house in it that has not lost the roof, — some entirely blown over. Among the spiritualities, Mr. Holley's church has principally attracted the vengeance of heaven, — no doubt for his infidelity and apostasy; though, to make up for that, Mr. Morse's church in Charlestown has a great hole blown in the steeple, and about two-thirds of the roof most kindly tossed at least fifty yards from the house. You will easily comprehend how much Boston and the neighborhood has suffered, from what I have said. The principal violence of the wind was from the south, though it blew from N. E. to S. W.

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* Widow of John Hancock, who after his death married a Mr. Scott, and who lived in the Hancock house on Beacon Street.

† Mrs. Williams, whose picture — one of Stuart's masterpieces — is now in possession of the Pratt family. She lived at No. 12 Federal Street.

His chief interest was at that time literary; and he devotes pages to long descriptions of Latin books which he asks his friend to buy for him in Germany, and which proved on their arrival so numerous and bulky that he was "obliged to make a suite of two mighty chambers for their tranquil repose." Occasionally, however, he took some part in gay society.

April 18, 1816.

. . . The lovely Hinckley * with her golden apples takes her flight in a few weeks for England, along with her watchful and merciless dragon, — Sicilian muses, lament for me! On Thursday evening (2d of May) we had a magnificent bivouac in Concert Hall, to which the whole hamlet was summoned; quite equal to the Prince Regent's, or any Royal fête, or even one of your elegant "sweep outs" at Göttingen. Four hundred of every arm appeared in full costume. Miss Hinckley was the Goddess of Love, grace, wisdom, and every other sort of goddess. The numerous band of her afflicted knights, with the emblem of the bleeding heart, are getting ready their cork jackets and patent life-preservers to guard and protect her car over the waves of the Atlantic.

He gives an account of the shopkeepers in those remote days, by which it appears that the collapse of a grand dry-goods establishment is no such new thing.

Boston, June 4, 1816.

. . . After mentioning the deaths one naturally thinks of the bankruptcies. And we have really had one which has as much

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* A noted beauty. She married Mr. Hodgkinson, an Englishman, and still lives at the age of eighty-five. Mrs. Edward Bangs of Boston is one of her children.

shaken and convulsed and dismayed our little village as a national bankruptcy of Britain would do the little island. This mighty event was the "shut sesame" pronounced one fatal Monday morning by Mr. Josiah Dow, a most illustrious personage, celebrated all over New England by the "long room" in Cornhill Square, where eighteen or twenty clerks daily administered and served out tapes and pins and ribbons and the fabrics of every latitude in the known world, to crowds of country lasses and town lasses and all that multitude of insects who make their promenades in order to buy *cheap*. His commercial death has made a great space for the knights of the yardstick, and they are now tilting most desperately to see who shall have the *cheap shop*. In the mean time, I have taken advantage of the tournament among the Cornhill sinners, and have bought half a dozen bandana handkerchiefs "prodigiously low."

Mr. Everett was furnished not only with the news of the quiet New England town, but with anxious and kindly advice as to the preservation of his health, — advice administered by Mr. Lyman's mother with a solicitude almost parental. These timely warnings were suggested by a painful experience in the person of her son, who had just passed through a sickness which brought him to the last point of exhaustion. His letter, which describes the malady, is of some interest to the physician as well as the philosopher: —

WALTHAM, October 15, 1816.

I thank God, my dear Edward, that I am again able to write you a few syllables, and as this is the first letter which I have had the satisfaction of inditing since my resurrection from the tomb, it assures me that even a double voyage over the Styx cannot always make one forget all the toiling mortals that one leaves on this unhappy planet. Yes, I may indeed say that I have twice had the honor of being sculled by the respectable and amiable Charon. But perhaps you have heard all about my piteous tale; if not, I shall give you this opportunity of vaunting that you are the first to whom I have condescended to relate my marvellous history. Last July Dr. Warren advised me to go to the Springs at Ballston, in order entirely to remove all the remaining symptoms of the complaint from which I had been suffering six or eight months. Accordingly my mother and myself departed, and as soon as possible I began to swallow whole tumblers of the water with every necessary wry face. But alas! my friend, this was not to me a fountain in which the Muses or Hygeia delighted. I neither sucked in poetry nor health. On the contrary, eight or nine days' use of these waters, and that a moderate one too, satisfied me and every one who knew me that I must either give up the waters or give up the ghost. . . .

They put me into a carriage, and by the great judgment of my mother and her unceasing watchfulness, they contrived to carry me to New York. . . .

Till we reached the boarding-house in Broadway I had felt and breathed and understood, but there this sort of gasp and spasm of life and strength forsook me, and I lay upon the bed three or four days in a state of almost absolute torpidity. . . .

The feeble remnant of life appeared neither struggling to keep nor quit its hold; and, if it had then been my fate to die, I should have been totally unconscious of suffering, of what I was leaving, or what I was going to encounter. One would think that there was a real material bond between the principle of life, which some of our schoolmen teach us to be immaterial, and the body itself, and that to separate them causes pain like the amputation of a limb; for in most cases the convulsion appears to be in proportion to the strength of the victim. Where the vigor of the body is greatly reduced, life seems to creep out of its little clay tenement, as it were by stealth, without causing a start or a spasm. . . .

If I have been miraculously raised from the tomb, by another miracle I have been invested with a new constitution and new functions of body, so that this Dr. Hosack has been a sort of Prometheus to me. When I closed my eyes and sunk into this sleep I was possessed, as the physicians told me, and as I believed myself (though I have many doubts of it now), with every symptom of the dyspepsia; but, while I slept, some kind angel came and cast out this devil, and I arose entirely free from pain or complaint of any sort. . . .

But if I have gained a new constitution it has been done with pretty severe suffering. I have actually performed the transition of a grub into a butterfly. The change has been accompanied with agony. I have gone through both the pangs of death and a second birth, and the recovery of my bodily and mental sensations and sentiments. It was not to be expected, in such a depressed and prostrated condition of the carnal, that the small portion that I have of the spiritual should escape. From a frightful blank and darkness I was beset with a torturing confusion and uncertainty. I could not comprehend my situation; I could not ascertain if I had already passed through one life, or if this was the commencement of it. There was in my mind a strange recollection of events and actions; but, with all the powers of logic, mathematics, and metaphysics to be mustered on the occasion, it was impossible to decide whether they belonged to me or some other person; whether the personal identity of Theodore Lyman was the same since as before his resurrection. I had also another very difficult point to discuss, and somewhat conflicting with the first. So far from discovering that Providence had graciously granted me two lives, I occasionally doubted if I had any life at all. I tried to count the posts of the bed, the ornaments over the chimney-place, the tick of a large clock which stood in the entry. It is not easy for me to describe to you the anguish of those moments during those hot suffocating nights of August, when the atmosphere, as it were, of the chamber was so thick, still, heavy, and dismal. There was a little night-lamp burning in the chimney-corner, with just light enough to show a chaffer of coals with my arrowroot smoking in the other, pill-boxes and phials, bottles and glasses colored with medicine, over the mantel-piece, — an old black woman, the nurse, enjoying a profound slumber in a large arm-chair at one side of my bed, and my mother lying in her nightgown, in a cot, upon the other side, — this clock ticking so faithfully and solemnly in the entry. How touching is such a sound! and it weighs like a frightful nightmare upon one's spirits. It is cold and unfeeling; it does not participate in, it has no sympathy for, our fleeting condition; the longest period of time cannot alter the constancy and regularity of its motions, but in ourselves every moment works change and decay, and the sick man, a wretched skeleton, sunk down between two mountains of feathers, hot and tired to death, without power to raise its head or hand, gasping for breath, doubtful if the thread of life had broken, or was about to part,—this dismal, gloomy scene,—this oppressive and frightful silence, when I heard only the ceaseless and unvarying beat of the clock and the dull hoarse breathing of the nurse, sometimes raised to a long gasp, and then again sinking down into a quiet slumber! The first was like a death-watch; it seemed to mark out to me the moments of my existence; the other had the effect of one of those sounds which give a pause, as it were, to the thoughts which break in upon the gloom and silence of the scene, and when the sound has ceased it is both painful to recover, if one may so say, the composure of our suffering, and we lie in the constant dread of being again disturbed. I looked from one side of the chamber to the other,—I spoke,—I drew a long breath. I ceased breathing; for a moment it seemed to be revealed to me that I had still life, but the next moment a dreadful perplexity again came over me. My mother used to read short paragraphs from the papers, but it was impossible for me to fix my attention. I could catch just enough to understand what was doing, but beyond this all was whirl and confusion. It seemed as if all the notions and sensations and experiences which I had acquired in my life had all started up together to make a sad uproar and chaos in my poor brains. . . .

It was several weeks before I could settle to my own satisfaction that question so truly important to my temporalities, if the legs and arms and body, that I felt and saw lying upon the bed, actually belonged to the mind engaged in this ingenious inquiry. The connection was so slight and feeble that it was great part of my amusement to try to cross my legs, to lay my hands upon my body, to put one over the other, and various other curious devices; but my incredulity was worse than that of Thomas,—I did not believe, though I both touched and saw, and "the arm could say unto the leg, I have no need of thee!" Moreover, I imagined that the spirit was striving to free itself from the body. I had that sensation internally, and I have frequently made exclamations and groans when I really believed that the soul was about to depart, or had departed. Ah, my friend, what a pitiful crumb and atom! Truly we, frail mortals, have great reason to glorify ourselves about the strength and perfections of our senses, when we can be made so feeble as to lie three or four weeks upon our back, doubting if we have life, legs, body, or arms, and yet all the time breathing, moving, eating, and drinking; and suffering from no absolute derangement of mind; withered and wasted down from the full flush and highest vigor of health and youth to a sorrowful and almost worthless fragment, hardly fit to shrink and moulder away in a narrow, obscure grave! Time brings about the seventh age, when we are *sans* everything, in its proper season; but such a fearful and sudden ruin of our best strength is brought about by a disease of ten months. . . .

Doubtless many persons have been as near the gates of death, but few have been rescued so soon; and at least one thing I have learnt, that death is most formidable when farthest removed. After all, it is pretty much like one of those objects that frighten us in the night; as we approach it, the phantom vanishes, and we are ready to laugh at our own weakness. This, my dear Edward, is a long history of my infirmities, dreams, visions, delusions, sufferings, and devils and monsters of all colors and dimensions. They have now, thank the *bon Dieu*, all left me, and I have only to pray that this dull account and parade of them may not infect you and produce a few gapes and yawns.

The hope of re-establishing his health by travelling in Europe with his friend, Mr. Everett, moved Mr. Lyman again to cross the Atlantic. His father happily did not belong to the class of self-made men who set up their own ignorance as the standard of a proper culture, and who relentlessly confine their children in the sordid path of money-getting. He thought it a very good use for his fortune to furnish his children the thorough education of which poverty had deprived him, and he was particularly pleased with the studious taste of his son, to whom he gave money with a liberality that might well have injured a character less stable. The young man arrived a second time in London in June, 1817, where he stayed with his uncle, Samuel Williams, the banker, and found the country so agreeable that he was obliged to write to his friend in excuse of his tardiness.

CHELTENHAM, July 20, 1817.

I have received, my dear friend, five letters from you, the last of which, dated July 5th, I got here this morning. I am disappointed in not being able to get to Germany as soon both as I promised and expected, but you shall hear the whole history of my offending, and then you can judge if you ought to be as kind to me as the potent seigniors were to Othello. I had an opportunity of spending four days in rooms in one of the Cambridge colleges, and of living among the fellows, whom I found truly hospitable ones, and who (it is a matter which ought to be poured into your *Cambridge professorial** *ear*) drank, in the public hall on Commencement Day, "Cambridge University in New England." Then I went to pass a week with the great farmer, Mr. Coke, in Norfolk. Here we lived in a palace among nobles. Third, I promised to pass a week with my uncle at Cheltenham, which probation and purgation I am now undergoing. . . .

But the moment I have swallowed my seventh glass of inspiration, I depart for the lakes of Westmoreland, where I go to sojourn three or four days with a gentleman who lives in the midst of the lake poets and who has promised to give me a glance at them. Thence I descend to Norwich to fag through the assizes with a Sir James Smith. I am anxious to see this scene, though, I am aware, it is very hard and dull work, but I know this Sir James very well, and I shall meet there many of my acquaintances that I made at Mr. Coke's. With the leave, then, of Providence, I shall be in London on the 8th or 9th of August, and with the still further leave of Providence I shall be in Calais on the 12th. My route will be through Brussels and that country for two reasons. I wish to see the field of Waterloo; and another is (which most rational people will think the best), I intend to come with you through Holland. I have stayed in this country precisely one month longer than I expected, because I happened to get acquainted with some good people, who would forget me by the time I should be able to see them again; and, as I had got the secret of entering the cave (as good society really is in this country and in all others) I thought it best to cry out "open sesame." I should have been happier and more comfortable with you, because there is actually little pleasure among these coronets and ribbons, but, my good fellow, you know that no person of proper sense and feeling can leave his own country for the sake of *happiness* alone. In regard to Oxford and Paris we will have our syllogisms on that head when the two logicians meet. I have an excellent servant, a Frenchman, whom I brought from America; he neither cheats, steals, nor drinks. He is attached to me; and, without pretending to be wiser or more sagacious than Gil Blas was when he left Santillane, still I have the proof incontrovertible of this *garçon's* honesty, integrity, and temperance, — these are three words which in a servant amount to as much as faith, hope, and charity in ordinary Christians. I expect to get some good letters from this country to the Continent. I have already some for Paris from Messrs. Adams and Jefferson, and other reliable persons, in all of which we will contrive to go shares.

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* Mr. Everett had been appointed Professor of Greek in Harvard College.

During his short run through the Low Countries, Prussia, and central Germany, and before joining Mr. Everett at Göttingen, in October, Mr. Lyman made the acquaintance of many men of letters, and continued diligently to collect books for himself and for Harvard College. He left some notes on the more famous of the men he met. His descriptions of Wolf, Goethe, and von Kotzebue are interesting: —

"Wolf* of Berlin I met at Leipsic, — a stout man of sixty, with high forehead and prominent nose. He has a rough, boisterous look and manner, and his face has no expression of uncommon talents, though it is an uncommon face. He wears spectacles; and they say he is a man who ridicules everything and is hated by everybody. Still he has wit and makes people laugh.

"Goethe the poet, now sixty-eight years old, has no wife. She died two years ago, a dissipated woman, fond of pleasure and wine. Her one son, who is married, they say is a good-natured but a stupid fellow. Goethe himself is about five feet ten and a half inches high, with a large body and head, a prominent nose with a straight line, high broad forehead; considerable hair, which was powdered; very black eyes, with a proud, disagreeable expression; large mouth, and a red face. Dressed in coarse, gray, light pantaloons, half-boots, white waistcoat, and black coat. At the buttonhole was a red ribbon, with six or eight fine gold chains and three little orders resting on it. He is stiff and embarrassed in his manners, and neither appears a courtier nor a good-natured man. In the summer he lives at Jena. His house in Weimar is one of the best; and during the war he had the first officers always billeted upon him, such as Ney, Augereau, Oudinot, the two L'Allemands, besides hundreds of inferior fellows. He loves very much Lord Byron's poetry, and prefers the Corsair. The expression of his face is that of acute, *harsh* sense; no softness or sensibility.

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* Friedrich August Wolf, considered by many authorities as the greatest Greek scholar Germany has produced.

"Von Kotzebue,* the *play-writer*, is also at Weimar, on a commission from the Emperor of Russia to read all the new publications of Germany, France, Italy, and England, and send everything valuable to Russia, particularly *German Theology.* I passed half an hour with him this morning. A middle-sized man, rather thin, of fifty-five or sixty, with an ordinary face, and a little red spot or excrescence above the left eye. Nothing remarkable in his manner or conversation. Said that his imagination began to fail, and that he found it more difficult now to make the plan of a piece; but, to make up for it, he thought that his taste improved. All his life has risen at four in the morning and worked till twelve; this accounts for the swarms of pieces which have issued from his cell. Has a wife and seven children."

Worshippers of Goethe will be offended by this sinister picture. It is doubtless a faithful one. He was a man who did not add the crown of glory to the crown of genius. An ignoble life, full of debauchery and selfishness, is sure to make a mark that no intellectual power can mask. It is but fair to remark that Mr. Lyman was disgusted by coarseness of any kind, and loath to excuse it. For this reason he was disappointed in Byron, whom he saw in Greece in 1819, and whom he described as a gross-looking man, of uncleanly appearance, with a great turnover shirt-collar fastened with a big, vulgar brooch.

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* Aug. Fried. Ferd. von Kotzebue. He was assassinated, eighteen months afterwards, by Sand.

The spring and summer of 1818 were passed by Mr. Lyman in Paris, where he had a handsome apartment on the Boulevard des Italiens, and went a good deal into society. He thus became intimate with notable persons, Humboldt, de Pouqueville the Grecian traveller, Gallatin, Gérard the painter, La Fayette, and many others. In one of his letters he thus notices the first appearance of the since celebrated "bicycle": "Last Sunday I saw, in the garden of the Luxembourg, the German carriage that runs without horses. It is really just like the pole with a wheel that children play with, except that there is a wheel at each end. The man sits astride the middle of the pole, and pushes against the ground, first with one foot, then with the other. It is the silliest thing possible!" The Parisians were much amused, and published a colored caricature of the valuable invention which "could go nine leagues in fifteen days."

In the autumn of 1818 the two college friends again left Paris together to pass the winter in Italy, whence, in early spring, they crossed from Otranto, by Corfu, to Albania, and visited the notorious Ali Pacha in his capital, Yanina. Of this visit Mr. Lyman wrote a picturesque narrative in the North American Review (Vol. x. p. 429).

From Yanina they made a difficult and often dangerous journey through Northern Greece to Athens and to the Morea. Taking shipping, they passed by Lemnos to the plains of Troy, and so to Constantinople, whence they travelled through Bulgaria to Vienna. The warm friendship then confirmed between the two young men continued unbroken.

In the autumn of 1819 Mr. Lyman came home. He was twenty-seven years old, and had hitherto devoted himself entirely to study and observation. He now put his education to use, and the next fifteen years were full of activity and hard work of many kinds. He had brought with him such an addition to his private library as made it one of the best in Boston. He was a good Latin and French scholar, and well read in the literature of those languages as well as in English literature. With these tools, and a strong love of letters, he naturally turned to composition. Within a year he published a volume on Italy,* and in 1826 appeared the first edition of his most important work, "The Diplomacy of the United States," a book that cost much research. In 1821 he married Mary Elizabeth Henderson, of New York. Of her Mr. Everett has left a description, in a letter addressed to Mrs. Williams, which proves that the writer was as refined and felicitous in speaking of a handsome woman as when treating the most important public questions.

Literary labors occupied only a part of Mr. Lyman's thoughts. He showed a great interest also in the State militia. From 1820 to 1823 he was aide-de-camp to Governor Brooks, and from 1823 to 1827 commanded the Boston Brigade, which became, under his strict discipline, a creditable body of troops. In public affairs he took no less a part, and engaged actively in politics. He was in the State House of Representatives from 1820 to 1825, except in 1824, when he was in the Senate. The tradition of his family was Federal, but after that party, about 1820, finally melted away, he joined the opposition to John Quincy Adams, and supported first Crawford, and afterwards Jackson for the presidency. His theory of government, however, was quite at variance with what turned out to be the theory of Jackson. Mr. Lyman was firmly opposed to arbitrary measures, and disliked everything that debased the standard of politics. There were then in Massachusetts two wings of the "Republicans" or Democrats, led respectively by Lyman and Henshaw. The former wing went by the name of Silk-stockings, and were the forerunners of the present advocates of civil-service reform. They opposed Jackson's dictum, "To the victors belong the spoils," and were consequently held in dudgeon by those who would now be called "The Boys." As time went on, it seemed to Mr. Lyman that the Democratic party slowly drifted from proper principles. During the administration of Van Buren, some years after he had left public life, he voted with the Whigs, and continued with them ever afterwards.

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* The Political State of Italy. 1 vol. 8vo. 1820.

In 1834 and 1835 he was Mayor of Boston. The fine alleys of trees on the Common, which radiate from the foot of Joy Street, and that which runs from Park Street to West Street, were planted, in the former year, under his own eye. These trees, when planted, were from eight to fifteen feet high. During the same year he presented to the Council an elaborate paper, with calculations and estimates, in which he urged the immediate introduction of pure water,—a work which, strangely enough, was not carried out till fourteen years later. Internal improvements were, however, not the only cares of office. Riots were much more common in those days than now, and one of them, which ended in the burning of the convent in Charlestown by an ignorant and fanatical mob, threatened serious danger to the neighboring city. The disorderly crowd proposed to cross the bridge in procession, headed by music, and bearing a holy picture, and thus to march through the streets. For their part the Catholic Irish armed themselves to attack their opponents Mayor Lyman had troops ready; but, with the hope of averting a serious riot, he tried also a *ruse de guerre*. Having summoned the leader of the brass band, he thus addressed him: "If that procession comes this evening into Boston, there will be a fight; the troops will fire; you will be in the most exposed position; you are a large man; you will be shot!" The alarmed musician stayed at home. Deprived of music, the procession marched with small spirit, and began to cross the bridge dubiously. At the opposite end sat a mysterious figure on a large white horse, who suddenly wheeled and galloped up the street with prodigious clatter. Immediately the cry rose, "He 's going to call the soldiers," and the crowd of devout Protestants took to their heels.* The next year was marked by another riot, the so-called Garrison mob, one of the first symptoms of that long intestine quarrel fated to end in the terrible war of the Rebellion. The Abolitionists were, at that time, regarded with bitterness, as a set of men who did what they could to envenom the South against the North, without suggesting any practicable method of getting rid of slavery; and this popular judgment had foundation, for they were men who had no regard for law when law conflicted with their private convictions. It is hardly necessary to point out that all order, law, and government are the outcome of a surrender of certain powers by the citizens to the central control, and that anarchy at once results when each citizen attempts to resume such powers. Now that we are happily rid of slavery, it is natural to give high praise to the original Abolitionists as to men of a prophetic eye, and of a wisdom that could stride beyond the details of the day. Their real justification, however, lies in their peculiar temperament. They were persons naturally of an exceedingly merciful and sympathetic disposition, and of vivid imagination, and slavery filled them with such unspeakable horror that any temporizing was to them impossible.

On the 21st of October, 1835, an excited crowd suddenly beset a building where the Female Antislavery Society was holding a meeting, and endeavored to break in and seize the person of George Thompson, a Scotchman, who was speaking in that cause. As a fact, Mr.

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* The most spirited account of the burning of the convent is to be found in a small book by Mrs. Whitney, wife of Professor J. D. Whitney, the geologist. She was then a scholar in the establishment, and fled in the night with the nuns.

Thompson had left the city, and so the mob turned its wrath on Mr. Garrison, who was set upon, while trying to escape by a back way, and was dragged along the street. At that moment Mayor Lyman rushed into the crowd, and, after a severe contest, succeeded, by help of some friends, in getting the victim safely into the City Hall. Although Boston then had a population of nearly eighty thousand, there was nothing that could be called a day-police, and only a few watchmen in the night. The mob increased so fast, and got so threatening, that Mr. Garrison seemed in immediate danger. To insure his safety, therefore, he was committed to jail, under a *pro forma* accusation, and with his full consent. After a second violent struggle he was put in a carriage and taken to the jail, whence he was, next morning, liberated without injury. At the moment Mr. Garrison was properly grateful, and declared that, "under God, he owed his life to the Mayor."* Nothing can give a more striking notion of that phase in our history (separated from us in time by only forty-four years, but in progress by centuries) than a letter asking a service of the chief magistrate of a city.

WASHINGTON, 20th January, 1834.

TO GENERAL THEODORE LYMAN:

MY DEAR SIR, — You, being at the head of the Municipal Government of Boston, will probably know the officer of police best calculated to accomplish the object I wish to intrust to his care. Having no other acquaintance to whom I could so appropriately apply under the circumstances, will I trust be received by you as my apology for troubling you on this occasion. Satisfied, also, that you would be gratified in being instrumental in restoring to a *Southern* man his property, if found in your section of country, I have not hesitated in doing so.

One of my brothers and myself have each lost a valuable slave, negro *carpenters* that are brothers. I have just learnt mine is in Boston, where the other has gone to join him.

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* See Papers relating to the Garrison Mob, edited by Theodore Lyman, 3d. 1870. Pamphlet 8vo, p. 61.

Mine was seduced from my service in July last, and probably took shipping from Alexandria for Boston or some Eastern port. The other left Virginia the last month, and wrote from Baltimore on the 20th of December he was on his way to Boston to join his brother. Both are mulattoes, from twenty-five to thirty years old or thereabouts. They passed at the South under the names of James and Travers. The former, belonging to me, is uncommonly handsome and genteel for one of his color. His features are regular, and as delicate and well formed as any white man's; his hair is black, and flowing in large ringlets. He is about five feet ten inches in height, of rather spare make, and narrow across the chest; neat in his person, respectful in his manners, with a soft voice, and skin sufficiently dark as to leave no doubt of his origin. He has no particular mark about him, now recollected, excepting a scar across the back of one of his hands. The other is of shorter stature, not so dark nor as handsome as the other, but more so than mulattoes usually are.

I have given the above description in the hope you will do me the favor to put it in the hands of one of your constables who would undertake, for a suitable reward, to secure them for us. I am willing to deal liberally for their recovery, — to pay $300 for the restoration of both, or more if necessary. On that point there should be no difficulty; but I would ask of you the favor, if not taxing your kindness too much, to make such an arrangement with a constable or other officer as you think best. If necessary, I will repair to Boston, or send an agent, to prove property. This, however, I wish to avoid, if possible.

The writer was a personal friend, and a man of fortune and education, much beloved for his kindness and hospitality. He survived the Rebellion, and died greatly respected. Nothing can be plainer than that he here asks for his "property" with as much good faith as one would now show in seeking a stray horse. It is needless to add that the Mayor politely declined to render any service of the sort, for Mr. Lyman was as strong an antislavery man as Mr. Garrison himself. In his 4th of July oration in 1820,* after quoting the celebrated passage from Jefferson, beginning "I tremble for my country," he exclaims: "Here then, in this curse and abomination of slavery, is your dread and woe!" When a Representative, in 1822, he, as chairman of a committee, successfully opposed any legal disqualifications for negroes or mulattoes.* And during his mayoralty he was very much liked by the colored population because he provided them with a school.

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* Oration delivered at the Request of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston, 1820, pamphlet 8vo, p. 9.

Here closed the public life of Mr. Lyman. Two bereavements, following soon one on the other, withered ambition within him, and broke the spring that urges a man among his fellows. In 1835 his eldest daughter, a child of great promise, was snatched suddenly away; and, on the 5th of August, 1836, died his wife, whom he tenderly loved. He was a man in whom sorrow was cumulative and not to be cast off. Without murmuring and with calm demeanor he faced the world, and henceforth strove to gain for others the happiness he himself could no more possess. Selling his fine estate in Waltham, "where every flower and tree was a memento of his loss," he bought, some years after, a place in Brookline, where, with Upjohn as his architect, he built, in 1844, a house which marked a new era in suburban residences. This, however, with horticulture, was simply an occupation for his spare hours. The question to which he gave his best strength was that of raising the poor and criminal classes. His experience as Mayor, and as President of the Boston Farm School and of the Prison Discipline Society, furnished the needful material for thought. "The trouble with criminals," he said, "is, not that they are bright and dashing, as novels describe them, but that they are dull, brutal, and, above all, *uninteresting*." He clearly saw that the moment to influence a criminal was *in youth*, before his narrow nature had become hopelessly stiff, and when there was at least a chance of cutting back some of his animal impulses, and of adding something good to his limited intellect.

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* Free Negroes and Mulattoes, House Report, Jan. 16, 1822.

In the winter of 1846 three petitions were presented to the Legislature, — one from Francis G. Shaw and others, one from Chief Justice Wells of that court, and one from the selectmen of Roxbury, — praying for the establishment of a State institution for the reformation of juvenile offenders. A report of a committee to whom these were referred was made on the 26th of March of that year.

They reported a resolution for the erection of a State Manual Labor School, and authorizing the Governor to appoint three commissioners to cause buildings to be erected suitable for the accommodation of three hundred scholars, &c. This resolution was passed April 14, 1846, and ten thousand dollars appropriated for the purpose. It should be remembered that the experiment now proposed was the first of the kind which in this country had been undertaken by a State.

Under this resolve a commission was created, at the head of which was placed the Hon. Alfred D. Foster of Worcester, whose sound judgment, ready sympathy, practical wisdom, and expanded benevolence eminently qualified him for carrying forward such an experiment. To him Mr. Lyman, on the 22d of June, 1846, addressed the following letter, which is interesting as showing the first direction of his mind toward an enterprise which afterwards engrossed so much of his attention: —

Sir, — I have lately read a report and a resolution of the Legislature on the subject of a Manual Labor School. I have also seen an advertisement which the commissioners appointed to conduct the business have just published in regard to it.

I know few objects more desirable to accomplish than the reformation which an institution of that kind contemplates, and which I have little doubt but that it can, to a considerable degree, effect.

I have been for five or six years a manager of the Farm

School, a charitable institution situated on Thompson's Island, in Boston harbor. The object of this school, though a private incorporation, is not very different from that proposed by the Manual Labor School. On that account, I have had a good deal of practical acquaintance with the class of boys which it is probably intended to receive into the institution for which you are one of the commissioners.

I am rejoiced that the State has entered on this business, because I am sure that a vast deal of good can be done in a simple and easy way, and without a great expense in proportion to what shall be obtained. As one citizen, I feel a great desire that the enterprise should be undertaken, and a fair trial made of its results. I am ready therefore, and willing, to make a donation in money to the school as soon as I find that I have formed a correct idea of what the Legislature proposes to accomplish. I may as well add, however, that the view taken of this matter by Judge Washburn, in a letter of March 11, 1846, addressed to a committee of the Legislature, is, in general terms, what my own observation and experience have taught me to be a just and correct one.

I have to request that this communication may be considered in all respects a private one, and as addressed to you alone, for I am obliged to express myself in general terms till I obtain a more definite account than I now possess of what it is intended to do.

To this Mr. Foster replied, and requested, among other things, that General Lyman would give his views, generally, upon the plan to be adopted in reference to such a school, &c.

On the 6th of July General Lyman again wrote Mr. Foster: —

"By the terms of the resolution, I find that the State has appropriated ten thousand dollars for the purpose of establishing a State Manual Labor School. I do not think that sum is sufficient to have an experiment of the results of such an institution fairly tried. And as I consider it exceedingly important that a school of the kind should be founded in this Commonwealth, I am willing to give to it a similar sum, namely, *ten thousand dollars.* I attach but one condition to this donation, and that is, that the name of the donor shall not be known (for the present at least) to any one but yourself. It will, of course, be necessary for you to communicate the fact of the donation to the gentleman with you in the commission; but I am particularly solicitous that the name of the party making it should be withheld, — so much so that I shall take it as a favor if you will not allow my letters to be seen."

From that time he watched with great interest the progress of the enterprise. In November of the same year he offered through Mr. Foster, under the same injunction of secrecy, to contribute toward maintaining the school the further sum of five or ten thousand dollars, if the State would advance an equal sum, and if the commissioners should judge that so much money could be usefully employed for the school. He attached no conditions as to how the money thus offered should be appropriated; but in his letter he says: —

"It has seemed to me that a fund might be established for giving those boys a start in the world that are discharged under meritorious circumstances, or of providing something to enable all properly discharged to enter on a respectable course of life. The moment is, in all cases, a trying one for a boy when he leaves a school of this sort, and in many cases is, in fact, what may be called the critical period of his life. A kind hand, therefore, held out to a poor lad just there, even for a short time, may not only secure and continue all the good that he has obtained in the institution, but may also place him in comfort and respectability as long as he lives."

The school was dedicated on the 7th of December, 1848, with appropriate services, in the presence of the chief magistrate and many distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth.

On this occasion an address was delivered by the Hon. Emory Washburn, and afterwards, by the order of the Legislature, published, in which the then unknown source of such distinguished munificence was alluded to: —

> "The benefactor to whose bounty the Commonwealth chiefly owes this beautiful estate has illustrated, as few have done, some of the noblest precepts of his divine Master. Not only has he sought out the lost wanderers from the fold of Christian sympathy, not only have the sick been visited and they who are in prison ministered unto, but the left hand has scarcely been permitted to know what his right hand has done. No pharisaic trumpet has proclaimed his deeds of charity, and his reward can only be the consciousness of the uncounted good which is to flow from them to generations yet unborn." *

Such was the beginning of the State Reform School at Westboro', the model of many similar establishments since erected in other States. Here was first tried in this country the experiment of placing criminal boys under the discipline of a severe school, instead of committing them to prison, where the disgrace of confinement and the company of older convicts would insure their downfall. That the experiment has been reasonably successful is demonstrated by the fact that a similar system has been grafted on the criminal law of a great number of States.

Mr. Lyman lived to see the promising beginning of the school. The following year, while travelling with his son in Europe, he was taken with a mortal sickness and survived his return a few days only. He expired at Brookline, July 18, 1849.† It was then found that he had devised a further sum of $50,000 to the school, making, in all, a gift to his native State of $72,500. He left, also, to the Farm School, $10,000, and to the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, $10,000.

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* See Memoir of Theodore Lyman, Barnard's American Journal of Education for March, 1861.

† The surviving children of Theodore Lyman, Jr., are: Cora, *b.* in Boston, Dec. 25, 1828, *m.* Gardiner Howland Shaw, June 10, 1848; and Theodore Lyman, 3d, *b.* in Waltham, Aug. 23, 1833, *m.* Elizabeth Russell, Nov. 23, 1856. The children of Cora L. Shaw are: Amy, *b.* in Boston, Oct. 15, 1850, *m.* John Collins Warren, May 27, 1873; Francis, *b.* in Boston, Nov. 27, 1854; and Henry Russell, *b.* in Paris, France, April 25, 1859. The surviving children of Theodore Lyman, 3d, are: Theodore, *b.* in Boston, Nov. 23, 1874; and Henry, *b.* in Brookline, Nov. 7, 1878. The children of Amy S. Warren are: John, *b.* in Beverly, Sept. 6, 1874; and Joseph, *b.* in Boston, March 16, 1876.

In his happy days he was already a man of mark, but his most important act, and the one for which he will be remembered, was performed when thick clouds had gathered and life had lost its savor. There is a lesson here for those who have the will and the fortitude to learn it.

DANIEL GILBERT

Dr. Gilbert was a direct descendant of Humphrey^{1} Gilbert, an early settler of Ipswich, Massachusetts, whose son, Deacon John^{2} Gilbert, born 1656–57, died March 17, 1722–23, married Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel and granddaughter of Austin Kilham. Their son, Benjamin,^{3} born February 1, 1691, died June 24, 1760, married Esther, daughter of John and Mary (Fiske) Perkins, and removed to Brookfield. Their son, Daniel,^{4} a captain in the Revolutionary War, born February 15, 1729, died April 2, 1824, married Lucy, daughter of Samuel and Mercy (Gilbert) Barnes. Their son Humphrey,^{5} born August 16, 1767, died February 18, 1816, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Lydia (Newton) Bond of Waltham. They were the parents of Daniel^{6} Gilbert, the subject of this sketch, who was born August 17, 1795, in that part of Brookfield now called North Brookfield, in the county of Worcester and State of Massachusetts.

His only facilities for education were those afforded at the district school of his native place, and some tuition at a private academy; but, having a desire for learning, he pursued it as best he could, helping himself by teaching as opportunity offered.

He studied medicine with his uncle, Dr. Jeremiah Kittredge, a distinguished surgeon of Walpole, New Hampshire, and received further instruction in his chosen profession by lectures at the medical department of Harvard College. He was licensed as a practitioner by the Censors of the New Hampshire Medical Society, and commenced practice in Walpole, New Hampshire, about 1823.

Dr. Gilbert removed, about 1830, to Brattleboro', Vermont, where he obtained a very successful practice, and became known as *the* physician and surgeon for fifty miles around. He was elected a Fellow of the Vermont Medical Society in 1835, and, during his connection therewith, served on several important committees, and delivered one of the annual orations. During the cholera epidemic of 1832, in New York, he was sent by the State of Vermont as chairman of a committee to observe and report upon the disease. While visiting the hospitals in New York at that time, he was stricken with the disease, and immediately swallowed a powerful dose (probably of laudanum), which, together with the disease, threw him into an insensible state. In this condition he remained at the hospital for twenty-four hours. He always felt that the assiduous attention of his associates alone preserved his life, and prevented his having been buried alive. In after years he often expressed the opinion that in those days of terror of the dread disease, when the streets of the city were utterly deserted, many persons were buried alive, — as he felt he would have been had he been dependent upon the scant attendance which the times afforded. So thoroughly did this idea permeate his mind, that when at last he was attacked with his final sickness — Asiatic cholera — he absolutely refused to swallow anything except bits of ice during the whole time of his sickness (eight days).

It must not be supposed that this was because of any peculiar weakness, for he was, on the contrary, a man of uncommon nerve and strength of mind. On one occasion, when visiting a patient some miles from home, as he was riding on horseback through the woods the branch of a tree caught and nearly tore off one of his eyelids, completely turning out the tarsal cartilage. Instead of turning back, he kept on with his journey, reached the hotel, ordered a looking-glass and warm water, and, by the use of his uninjured eye, replaced the dislocated cartilage, closed the wound with five sutures, bandaged up his head, and went to minister to the sufferings of the one he had come to assist, — much to the astonishment of the landlord and others, who often narrated the anecdote as characteristic of his uncommon nerve.

In 1841 he relinquished his practice, and removed to Boston, Massachusetts, where he devoted himself to the pursuit of study. During the eight years of his residence in Boston — until 1849, when he was suddenly stricken down with a fatal disease — he collected much material, which would, no doubt, have been published for the advantage of others if his life had been spared. His tastes led him to seek out and rejuvenate the truths which past knowledge had discovered, rather than to expect that the future held more value than all the world before possessed.

He married, first, January 17, 1826, Miss Susan D. Lanman, who was born August 1, 1807, and died August 5, 1831. They had one child, Augusta Goldthwait, born November 17, 1826.

He married, secondly, October 29, 1833, Miss Ann Sewall Ridgeway, daughter of Philip B. and Ann (Walcott) Ridgeway of Brookline. She was born February 14, 1804. They had three children: Helen Sewall, born April 2, 1835; Ada Ann, born April 8, 1836; and Daniel Dudley, the writer of this sketch, born December 23, 1838.

Dr. Gilbert became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, January 10, 1848; and not a few of the published Genealogies are indebted to him for data. He was essentially a disciple of the Greek philosopher, in that he thought much and spoke little.

Of the many who counted him as an acquaintance but few knew him well, and these knew him to admire and love him. He was an ingenious man, and the projector of many original ideas, although I doubt not the cue to them might have been drawn from ancient lore. He was the originator of the idea of burning alcohol and turpentine together as an illuminator, and obtained a patent therefor. His idea found expression in a lamp of two compartments and two separate wicks, — one for alcohol and one for turpentine, — which were fed together in the flame. This he never elaborated into practical shape; but from it was developed the burning fluid which for a long time superseded animal oil, and in its place gave way to petroleum. He was generous to a fault, and never pursued any of his successes as a matter of great pecuniary benefit to himself.

He died of Asiatic cholera, August 4, 1849, after a sickness of eight days, leaving a widow and three children, together with the child of his first marriage.

Dr. Gilbert paid much attention to the genealogy of his own family. The papers left by him show that he supposed he had good reason to believe that his immigrant ancestor, Humphrey Gilbert of Ipswich, was identical with Humphrey, son of Rawley, and grandson of the famous Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Subsequent researches by others show, however, that this is extremely improbable.

ALBERT GALLATIN

Abraham Alfonse Albert Gallatin, son of Jean Gallatin and his wife, Sophie Albertine Rolaz du Rosey, was born on the 29th of January, 1761, in the city of Geneva, then an independent republic. The Gallatin family was one of the oldest and most highly considered in the state. It was at this time represented by four different branches in Geneva, all respectable and respected, though, like other Genevan families, modest in means and simple in mode of life. Jean Gallatin was a merchant, doing business with his father Abraham, who lived at Pregny, a short distance from the city. In the year 1765 Jean Gallatin died; in the year 1770 his widow died; and the child Albert, now an orphan, was educated by his mother's closest friend, an unmarried lady named Catherine Pictet, under the authority of the grandfather, Abraham Gallatin, of Pregny. He passed through the Academy of Geneva, one of the best schools in Europe, and graduated with honors in May, 1779. On the 1st of April, 1780, in company with a schoolmate named Henri Serre, he left Geneva, without the knowledge of his family or friends, and, posting rapidly across France, took passage at Nantes for America. On the 14th of July he landed on Cape Ann, and the next day rode up to Boston.

Having no clear plan of operations, the two young men attached themselves to the first friend they found. This was an honest Swiss named Lesdernier, who lived at Machias, in Maine, and with whom they went to that place. Here they remained a year, until their funds were exhausted, and they were compelled to seek occupations. In October, 1781, they returned to Boston, where Gallatin took French pupils, and, by means of an introduction to Dr. Cooper, obtained, in July, 1782, the position of instructor in French at Harvard College. At Cambridge Gallatin remained a year, — until July, 1783, — when, on the conclusion of peace and the evacuation of New York, he left Boston, in company with a Frenchman named Savary de Valcoulon, for Philadelphia. Here, in the following November, he joined Savary in a Western land-speculation; and the two men, after passing the winter of 1783–84 in Richmond, Virginia, started for the Ohio River in the following spring, and were occupied during the summers of 1784 and 1785 in laying out their land claims in the wild country on the Ohio River, between the Great and Little Kenawha. Indian disturbances broke up their settlement here in 1785, and drove them back to the inhabited country. The best path of communication with the West then lay along the Potomac, across the country to the Monongahela, and down that river to the Ohio. Gallatin and Savary fixed on a spot high up the Monongahela for their residence, believing that the future highway between the eastern and western countries must run very near them. Gallatin bought a farm here, which he named Friendship Hill, and which lies in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, on the banks of the Monongahela, about five miles north of the Virginia line.

Here he continued to live for the next fifteen years, and he was legally a resident till a much later period. In October, 1785, he took the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia, as, although residing in Pennsylvania, he wished to be considered a Virginian. He passed a portion of his winters at Richmond and Philadelphia; built a brick house at Friendship Hill, and established a store there, after receiving his patrimony from his guardian, on coming of age, in 1786. In May, 1789, he married Sophia Allegre, daughter of William and Jane (Batersby) Allegre, of Richmond, who died at Friendship Hill in the following October.

His public life began in 1788, when he attended a conference held at Harrisburg on the 3d of September by the opponents of the Federal Constitution. This assembly issued a manifesto, urging the adoption of certain considerable amendments to that instrument.* A year later — in October, 1789 — Gallatin was chosen a delegate from Fayette County to the convention which framed the Constitution of Pennsylvania: he took only a subordinate part in its proceedings. In October, 1790, he was elected to the State Legislature, and served three terms in that body. He won there a high reputation as a financier by his Report on the State Finances, which was the means of placing the affairs of Pennsylvania in a permanently sound condition. He took a prominent part in all the liberal legislation of the time, especially in regard to popular education. In March, 1793, he was elected Senator of the United States by a legislature containing a majority of political opponents, — a distinction due to his moderate character, his great industry, and his eminent fitness for the place. On the 11th of November, 1793, he married Hannah, daughter of James and Frances (Witter) Nicholson, of New York. He took his seat in the Senate on the 2d of December, 1793; but on the 28th of February, 1794, the Senate decided, by a vote of fourteen to twelve, that he had not been nine years a citizen within the intent of the Constitution, and was therefore not entitled to his seat.

Early in May following this exclusion from the Senate,

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* See Elliot's Debates, Vol. II. p. 542.

Mr. Gallatin returned to Fayette County. He had not been there since November, 1792, and was now no longer in office. He brought his wife with him, and was attempting to resume his regular occupations, when, in July, the disorders broke out known commonly as the Whiskey Rebellion. These disorders did not originate in Fayette County, but some fifty miles farther west; and it was not until about the 1st of August that they assumed the character of organized rebellion. The insurgents, however, were not so strong as to carry the country with them without assistance. By common agreement, a meeting of delegates from the townships of the four western counties was called for the 14th of August, at Parkinson's Ferry, on the Monongahela. Gallatin attended this meeting as a delegate, and was chosen clerk. He at once assumed the leadership of the party opposed to violence, and, after a severe struggle, succeeded in checking the insurgent leaders. Committees with full powers were appointed, and after an interview with President Washington's commissioners on the 20th of August, the final contest was decided principally by Gallatin's agency, in a meeting held at Brownsville on the 28th, where it was determined to accept the government's terms, although by a narrow majority of 34 to 23 in the committee of sixty.

The pre-eminent part taken by Mr. Gallatin against the insurgents caused the well-disposed citizens of the disturbed district to nominate and elect him as their member for Congress in the following October. This nomination and election was without his knowledge, as he was not a resident of that district, but was a candidate for the State Assembly from his own county of Fayette. He was chosen to both offices, but was unseated in the Assembly on the ground that the election was void owing to existing insurrection. Immediately re-elected, he concluded, on March 12, 1795, his service in the State Legislature.

His Congressional career began in December, 1795, and lasted till March, 1801. During the first Congress (1795–97) he was principally associated with Mr. Madison in the leadership of the Opposition party; afterwards he became the recognized party leader in the House. His principal field of labor was in finance, but his speeches on Jay's Treaty and the constitutional powers of the House with respect to Treaties (1796), upon Foreign Intercourse (1798), on the Navy Establishment (1799), and on the Alien Bill (1799), were very famous in their day, and had a principal share in defining and deciding the policy of the Republican party.

As a Parliamentarian Mr. Gallatin was remarkable not only for great industry and thorough preparation, but for the peculiar mixture of boldness and caution which was a characteristic of his mind. He was a formidable debater, and with the exception of John Marshall had no superior, perhaps no equal, in the House. His tactics were never rash, and his temper was exceptionally good. Occasionally he rose to eloquence, but this was rare. His rule was to speak closely to the point, and to aim at conviction rather than at excitement. During the years 1798 and 1799, when his party was most depressed, he was left almost alone to carry on the parliamentary opposition, and he did it with consummate tact, address, and ability.

On the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, Mr. Gallatin was called, almost as a matter of course, to the Treasury, where he remained from May, 1801, to May, 1813. In this position he acquired a very high reputation not merely as a financier but as a politician. Both Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison leaned principally on him for advice and assistance both in regard to domestic and foreign policy. His peculiar field, however, was finance, and his administration of the Treasury was by common consent regarded as a model. Students will, however, find the principal evidence of his ability in the simplicity which he successfully strove to introduce into the affairs of his Department. His first fundamental measure was to fix the permanent policy of the government in regard to extinction of debt. This was done by legislation, setting aside a certain annual sum for the payment of interest and the discharge of principal. The national debt in 1801 amounted to about $80,000,000, and was increased about $18,000,000 during Mr. Jefferson's administration by the purchase of Louisiana and the payment of British debts. During Mr. Gallatin's administration of the Treasury a sum of $52,000,000 was discharged, leaving $45,000,000 only remaining at the outbreak of the War of 1812.

His management of the public lands was equally systematic and successful. He also organized the Coast Survey, and prepared a very grand system of internal improvements to be carried out by degrees, which was rendered impracticable by the foreign complications which swept away his surplus and led to the War of 1812. The only portion of this scheme ever carried into effect was the famous Cumberland Road.

The characteristic of his Reports as Secretary of the Treasury is their remarkable clearness and brevity. He spared no labor in making all the operations of the Treasury perfectly intelligible, and he struggled energetically, although with only partial success, in enforcing economy upon the government and exact accountability upon coordinate departments.

Mr. Madison, on assuming the Presidency in March, 1809, wished to make Mr. Gallatin his Secretary of State, but was compelled to abandon this plan by opposition in the Senate, led by William B. Giles of Virginia, Michael Leib of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Smith of Maryland. During the next four years the government was distracted by this personal opposition, to which the Vice-President, George Clinton, also belonged, and with which Mr. Robert

Smith, brother of the Senator, and Secretary of State, was in sympathy. All, or nearly all, Mr. Madison's and Mr. Gallatin's schemes were defeated by this Senatorial faction, which held a balance of power. The War of 1812 was probably due to the paralysis of government caused by this personal hostility, of which Mr. Gallatin was the chief victim. He believed that the war might have been avoided, but he, like Mr. Madison himself, accepted it, when decided upon, as a national measure, and exerted himself to the utmost in giving it success.

In the spring of 1813, after the war had been nine months declared, and after it had become obvious that little could be expected from military success, the Emperor of Russia offered his mediation. President Madison accepted the offer, and appointed Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard as Commissioners on the part of the United States, together with Mr. J. Q. Adams, then Minister at St. Petersburg. Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard sailed in May, and arrived in St. Petersburg on the 21st of July, 1813. Here he found, after long delays, that England had declined the mediation, and had offered to negotiate directly. Meanwhile the United States Senate had rejected his nomination as Commissioner on the ground of its incompatibility with his office of Secretary of the Treasury. He left St. Petersburg on the 25th of January, 1814, and went to London, with the consent of the British government, to hasten the negotiation. From the beginning of April till the end of June, Mr. Gallatin remained in London. Meanwhile the President had nominated a new Commission, consisting of J. Q. Adams, J. A. Bayard, Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell, but had omitted the name of Mr. Gallatin, who was then expected to return to the Treasury. Subsequently, on learning that Mr. Gallatin was still in Europe, the President was obliged to fill the vacant post of Secretary of the Treasury, and then the name of Mr. Gallatin was added to the Commission.

Early in July, 1814, the American Commissioners assembled at Ghent, but the British Envoys did not arrive until August. Negotiations then began, but with no prospect of success. The tact and forbearance of Mr. Gallatin, and his recognized pre-eminence in rank, age, abilities, and experience, were the principal means of avoiding the threatened rupture and of keeping the negotiation alive. After about six weeks' discussion and delay the British Commissioners modified their demands, and a treaty of peace was ultimately signed on Christmas Day, 1814.

Mr. Gallatin now made a visit to Geneva, and on returning to Paris found that he had been appointed Minister to France. He did not then accept the appointment, but, going to England, negotiated a treaty of commerce with that government, and returned home in July, 1815.

He was now offered his choice of pursuits, — the Treasury, the mission to France, a seat in Congress, and a partnership in the firm of John Jacob Astor. He preferred the mission to France, and accordingly returned with his family to Paris in July, 1816. Here he remained seven years, actively engaged in all the important diplomatic affairs of the time. Returning in June, 1823, to America, he was nominated, in February, 1824, for the Vice-Presidency by the congressional caucus which consisted of the friends of Mr. Crawford. His candidacy proved unsuccessful, and in the following October he withdrew from the canvass. President J. Q. Adams, in November, 1825, offered him the post of Envoy to the Panama Congress, which he declined, but in the following April, 1826, he accepted that of Minister to England, and succeeded in concluding a series of conventions with that power, after very long and difficult negotiations. This accomplished, he returned to America in October, 1827. President Adams urged his remaining in England, but, being unable to persuade him to do so, the President requested him to prepare the argument and evidence to be laid before the selected umpire, the King of the Netherlands, by the United States government, in support of its claims to the northeastern boundary. This task occupied him till the close of 1829.

This was the last public office held by him. He now retired to New York, where, in 1831, he accepted the post of President of the National Bank, a small institution just then created. He remained in this position till 1839, when he retired from active pursuits. During this time he took great interest in public affairs and exercised considerable influence. His "Considerations on the Currency and Banking System of the United States," published in 1831, was the best treatise of the time on that subject. It was supplemented in 1841 by "Suggestions on the Banks and Currency of the several United States in reference principally to the Suspension of Specie Payments." His "Free-Trade Memorial," in 1831–32, was the best statement of the subject, and was recognized as the text-book of the American Free-Traders. He took the principal part in bringing about the resumption of specie payments in 1838. In 1840 he published an essay on the Northeastern Boundary, and a paper on Mr. Jay's Map, read before the New York Historical Society. In 1846 he published an essay on the Oregon Boundary. In 1847 he published pamphlets on the War with Mexico and War Expenses. All these were important contributions to the subjects treated, and in regard to the questions of boundary he was probably the first American authority. His ethnological papers on the American Indians and their languages, published in 1836, 1845, and 1848, may be said to have created that branch of science.

He became an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, September 3, 1847.

He died on the 12th of August, 1849, surviving his wife only three months.

Mr. Gallatin's mind was one of extraordinary clearness and of exceptional logical power. He had little imagination, but considerable sense of humor and delicacy of perception. His highest quality was a masculine morality, which gave him that intellectual elevation which compels respect. As a practical statesman he had no equal in his day, and his scattered writings show him to have had no superior as a man of science and study. His reputation as a member of Congress, as Secretary of the Treasury, as diplomatist, as financier and Bank President, and as ethnologist, was successively first in its time.

JOHN PIERCE

THE Rev. Dr. Pierce, who for more than half a century was pastor of the First Church in Brookline, Massachusetts, was born in the neighboring town of Dorchester, now a part of Boston, July 14, 1773; a descendant in the sixth generation from Robert and Ann (Grenaway) Pierce of that place, and of like generation in descent, on the maternal side, from William and Agnes Blake, also of Dorchester. There is but little of interest to record in regard to the ancestors of Dr. Pierce. The names of Robert, Thomas, and successively three Johns, in this country, make up, in regular line, the male family roll. Robert, who died in January, 1664–65, in his last will and testament, written about three months previous to his death, gives the following parental advice and charge to his two surviving children, Thomas and Mary: "And now my Dear Child[ren], a Fathers Blessing I Bequeath unto you both & yours, bee tender & Louing to your mother, Louing and Kind one unto another, stand up in your places for God and for his Ordinances while you Liue, then hee will bee for you & Blesse you."

John Pierce, the first, who was a grandson of Robert, married January 25, 1693–94, Abigail, daughter of Deacon Samuel Tompson, of Braintree. Rev. William Tompson, father of Samuel, was the first minister of Braintree, and was installed pastor there in 1639, having previously joined the church in Dorchester, with George Moxon, afterwards the first minister of Springfield, and Samuel Newman, subsequently the first minister of the church in Rehoboth. The Rev. William Tompson was for a time missionary in Virginia. It has been stated that Daniel Gookin, afterwards the well-known Major General, who was so prominent in the military and civil affairs of Massachusetts in his day, was one of Mr. Tompson's converts.

John Pierce, the husband of Abigail, above, died January 27, 1744, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

The Boston "News Letter" of February 9, following, says: "He was a man of exemplary piety; steady in his adherence to God's Word, to His worship, Sabbath, and ordinances; benevolent, charitable, and just in his disposition towards mankind; humble and modest," &c.

John Pierce, the third, father of the subject of this notice, was born in Dorchester, September 22, 1742; died December 11, 1833, at the advanced age of ninety-one years and upwards. He entered into matrimonial relations four times, but his ten children, all of whom survived him, — Lemuel, the youngest, being forty-four years of age at the father's decease, — were by his second wife, Sarah Blake, whom he married June 9, 1772, daughter of Samuel and Patience (White) Blake, of Dorchester. Mr. Pierce was one of the "excellent" of the earth; a faithful, conscientious, lovable, kind-hearted Christian man. My venerated grandsire was looked upon by me, in my youthful days, as the *summum bonum* of a good father, grandparent, citizen, and friend; a model of morality, uprightness, and honesty. His religion seemed full of love, hope, and faith, like the sunbeams on his countenance, refreshing to the beholder, unobscured by a cloud, or disturbed by the passing breeze. He was a man of facts and not of fancies. He could from memory give the unwritten pedigrees of persons connected with the families of his native town, and entertain one for hours with the recital of incidents in the lives of their connections and friends. He was extremely fond of church music. Like his father and grandfather before him, he was for many years a leader of the choir. For more than forty years he was chorister at the First Church in Dorchester. The identical pitch-pipe used by him on those occasions is still preserved, and wonderfully retains its original tone. He was remarkably punctual in his attendance at public worship on the Sabbath, never having been absent, it is said, from the service "for more than half a century previous to his last illness, save once when detained by snow which neither he nor his neighbors could break through, and once when prohibited from attending by vote of the town, the small-pox being in his house. This was the more extraordinary as he lived upwards of a mile from the meeting-house." It was customary for many years, during the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Harris, to have the annual Thanksgiving services commence at eleven o'clock, A. M. On one occasion a change was made, the exercises beginning a half-hour earlier than usual. To the great surprise of the regular attendants at the church, Mr. Pierce appeared, walking up the broad aisle of the house, with his accustomed rapid gait, when the services were somewhat advanced, and the choir about closing one of their carefully rehearsed anthems, which it was always his great delight to hear. He was exceedingly disappointed, remarking, as he retired from the church, that he had rather have given fifty dollars — which was a large sum for one of his means — than to have entered the church after the services had commenced.

When the Dorchester Temperance Society was formed in 1829, Mr. Pierce was invited to become its first President. This office he held till his death. At a meeting of the society, December 13, 1833, just two days after his departure, the following, among other resolutions, was passed: —

"*Resolved*, That the Dorchester Temperance Society cherish feelings of the highest respect and veneration for the character and virtues of their late venerable President, Mr. John Pierce. After a long course of years spent in industry and frugality, in the practice of prudence, of virtue, and of temperance, he then promptly came forward, at a period when his age exceeded that of any other man in the town, and gave his name and influence to promote the philanthropic and benevolent cause of temperance, in which he manifested an unabated interest and zeal to the last period of his life."

The ninety-first birthday of Mr. Pierce was celebrated, October 3, 1833, by an assemblage at his house of all his children, ten in number, four sons and six daughters, their ages averaging about fifty-two years. He departed this life on the 11th of December following.

The mother of Dr. Pierce was a woman of loving and tender affections and sensibilities. He has been often heard to say of her, "I believe, if ever there was a Christian, my mother was one." "A strong sympathy seems to have existed between this mother and son. He was her first-born, and so youthful in appearance was she as to be mistaken for his sister by strangers." She died suddenly, July 18, 1791, at the early age of thirty-seven years, when he was at home, during a college vacation, "and from that event he dates his determination to devote his life and energies to the service of Christ." He had a strong predilection even in early boyhood to go to college and become a minister. In his sports his mind often ran in that direction, and it was his delight, when quite young, to assemble his companions and "play meeting," as he termed it, when he would go through earnestly, in a child's way, the exercise of preaching. This spirit was fostered by hearing his mother and the family speak of her brother, James Blake, who entered college in the fifteenth year of his age, began to preach in Weymouth soon after graduation, and died, highly esteemed, November 17, 1771, before reaching the age of twenty-one.

It is a fact worthy of mention that the same teacher who instructed his mother, a quarter of a century or so before, in the elements of knowledge, directed him also in his preliminary studies, namely, Jemima Smith, a maiden lady, familiarly known as "Ma'am Mima," who died in the year 1798. He afterwards studied Latin and was fitted for college in one of the public schools at Dorchester, his favorite companion in school, as he was afterwards in college, being his cousin, James Blake Howe, born the same year with himself, who was subsequently a preacher of the gospel, of the Episcopal denomination,—a man of great purity of heart and life, who died much lamented in 1844.

Mr. Pierce entered Harvard College in 1789, at the age of sixteen, and graduated in 1793. He had a distinguished reputation as a scholar, receiving, at his graduation, the second part in honor assigned to his class, the second English oration, which he delivered on astronomy, Charles Jackson, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, who died in 1855, having the first assignment, which was the valedictory oration. Judge Jackson testifies as follows in regard to his classmate: "He was distinguished in college, as he was through his whole after life, for persevering industry, a conscientious and punctual discharge of duty, and a warm and open heart." In 1796, on taking his second degree, he gave the Latin valedictory oration. "The expenses of his whole college course amounted to a little less than three hundred dollars, of which he had credit, as a beneficiary, for upwards of one hundred." Soon after leaving college he became an assistant preceptor in the English department at Leicester Academy, an institution of learning now extant, which had then been established about eleven years. Here he remained two years, at a salary of two hundred dollars the first year and two hundred and fifty the second, his board bill being at the nominal price of less than one dollar a week. From the select library donated by Governor Moses Gill to this Academy, Mr. Pierce received great benefit in prosecuting the studies for his contemplated profession. According to the costume of the times he wore a cocked or three-cornered hat; his hair queued with a black ribbon half-way down his back; he also had silver knee-buckles and large plated shoe-buckles covering more than half of his insteps. The principal and himself occupied the same bed for the two years they were together, and occasionally a college friend with them.

On the 10th of July, 1795, at the age of twenty-two, he commenced the study of theology with the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1787, who was ordained minister at Dorchester, October 23, 1793. While prosecuting these studies in divinity he was privileged with the acquaintance of the Rev. Oliver Everett, father of Hon. Alexander H. and Edward Everett. When difficulties occurred he committed the subject to paper, and on a subsequent visit to Mr. Everett, in his hospitable mansion at what is now the "Five Corners," in Dorchester, derived much satisfaction from his ready solution of the problems. The Rev. Dr. Samuel West, commonly known in his day as "Tutor West," used to say that Mr. Everett was "the acutest metaphysician" he had ever encountered. "He always seemed," said the "Tutor," "a rational piece of clock-work." The Rev. John Bradford of Roxbury went further than this when he stated that, "could all the metaphysical powers of the whole Boston Association be concentrated in a crucible, the whole would be inferior to Mr. Everett's."

On the 22d of February, 1796, Mr. Pierce was approved by the Boston Association of Ministers, assembled at the house of the Rev. John Eliot, D. D., Pastor of the New North Church in Boston, and preached for the first time, about two weeks after, in the pulpit of the Rev. Mr. Harris. In November of the same year he was appointed Tutor at Harvard College, which office he held about four months. He preached at various places in the vicinity, and on the 13th of December, 1796, received a unanimous call to settle at Brookline, Massachusetts, as successor to the Rev. Joseph Jackson, which he accepted, and was ordained their pastor, March 15, 1797, the sermon on the occasion being preached by the Rev. T. M. Harris. On the 31st of October, 1798, he married Abigail Lovell of Medway, one of his pupils at Leicester Academy. She died, July 2, 1800, leaving an infant son, who survived his mother only two years. His second wife was Lucy Tappan, of Northampton, Massachusetts, whom he married May 6, 1802; a daughter of Benjamin and Sarah (Homes) Tappan. They had ten children, seven of whom are now living. Mrs. Pierce survived her husband more than eight years, and died in Brookline, February 12, 1858, aged eighty years six months. Her last words were, "Rest in heaven."

In 1822 Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Dr. Pierce continued the sole pastor of the church in Brookline upwards of fifty years. For thirty-one years it was the only church, and he was pastor of the whole town. On the occasion of his semi-centennial, March 15, 1847, he preached a jubilee sermon from the text, "I have been young and now am old," in which he gave much historical and statistical information concerning the church and town. In October, 1848, Mr. Frederick N. Knapp, from the Divinity School at Cambridge, was settled as colleague with Dr. Pierce. Though to a great extent relieved thereby from the arduous duties of his ministry, he continued to preach in various places, with his wonted vigor and strength, until the spring of 1849. In January of that year he delivered the Annual Election Sermon before the Massachusetts Legislature.

On the 3d of March he was taken suddenly ill, after a long session at the Court House in Dedham, whither he had been summoned as a witness. It has been remarked, "this was the first time in his life he ever had anything to do with the law." The disease with which he was afflicted was an internal cancer that had been for some time undermining a constitution seemingly robust and firm. From that time the decline was gradual but sure. During his last sickness he received daily visits from his own people and other friends; "among them were one hundred and twenty clergymen, representing seven different denominations."

On the 18th of August, just six days before his death, a new organ having been placed in the church, at his earnest desire, he was borne thither in a chair, and joined with much animation in singing — of which through life he was passionately fond — with his parishioners and friends the tune of Old Hundred, which he considered the best tune ever made. While singing the hymn he remained seated, remarking that he no longer belonged to the *rising* generation. On the evening of August 23, 1849, he passed away, with "entire submission," as he said, "to the Divine will." A neat, white marble monument to his memory has been erected in the town cemetery, where his remains were deposited, on which is inscribed a motto chosen by himself, — "Christ is my hope."

"The trait which I recall with the greatest vividness when I revert to my acquaintance with Dr. Pierce," said one who knew him well, "is his uniform cheerfulness. Cheerfulness is too feeble a word. I should say his joyousness, his beaming and triumphant joyousness. I think he was the happiest man I ever knew. I have seen him sorely tried, but never knew him angry or sad. . . . His warm and innocent heart made all light about him. He walked in brightness, and imparted something of his own sunshine to whatsoever came near him." His words seemed to have a magic power. One could hardly help being agreeable in his presence. His hearty laugh would kindle up, or create, an echo responsive to his own.

He was pre-eminently a matter-of-fact man, with a strong, retentive memory. Names and dates seemed arranged methodically in his mind by an association of ideas or a similarity of sounds, ready to be called forth at his command for use or action. He was orderly in everything. A good memory, we are inclined to think, was in part an inheritance, as was his love of sobriety and temperance, his fondness for antiquarian lore, his love and taste for sacred music, his frugality, honesty, punctuality; for all these traits and qualities were strongly manifested in his revered father, and were with each of them controlling principles of action. There seemed to be no diminution in the character of the son, in the spirit of the good qualities above mentioned, but rather an increase of power. "As a matter-of-fact man," it has been said, "it may be doubted whether Dr. Pierce had any equal among his contemporaries. There was scarcely anybody's father or grandfather, of the least notoriety, of whose history he could not tell something, including particularly the dates of his birth, graduation (if graduated), and death."

"His memory was so strong that he could name every schoolfellow of his early days, even to those who learned with him their A B C's," and were mates together at the first school of his childhood. He seemed to know everybody in his parish, and the history of almost every house built there. He was truly a faithful pastor. His visits to and among his people were systematic and well chosen. The sick and infirm of his parish had a large and frequent share of his time and attention. He sympathized with his flock in their sorrows, and entered with a hearty zest into their joys.

"Had he not been an early riser it would have been impossible for him to accomplish what he did, so great was the demand upon his time from those who sought his society. . . . He was constantly receiving applications from people who wished genealogical information respecting their own house, and who looked to him as to a living herald's office in such matters," and it was his great delight to gratify them.

Dr. Pierce labored ardently and assiduously in the cause of temperance, giving to the subject much of his time and energies. He was connected with various organizations for the suppression of intemperance, and was an early and a faithful officer and member. I remember, on one occasion, to have met him on Boston Common. After the usual salutation he, in a loud and earnest voice and manner, as was his wont, asked, "Are you going to the theatre? I am going." There was to be a great Temperance gathering, a convention, I think, at the Tremont Theatre, and he was on his way thither. I dropped in at the close of the meeting, just in time to see him leave the stage and pass behind the scenes. A few weeks before his departure I was with him for a short time in his cheerful sick-room, the late Rev. Joseph Allen, D. D., of Northborough being also present. His attendant brought him a glass of brandy, which was a needed stimulant for him in his enfeebled condition, and recommended by the physician. He took the glass in his hand, and, holding it up, with a clear distinct voice, said, "I have come to *that*, at last."

He was extremely punctual in his attendance at religious meetings and elsewhere. "I never intend to be more than three quarters of a second behind the time," he said. If an appointment was made he was quite sure to be on the spot a little before the time specified. If any one stopped to converse with him on the way, with watch in hand he would note the moments as they passed. Suddenly, perhaps, he would stop, and politely inform the person that he must be at such a place at the time mentioned. Punctuality was one of his cardinal virtues. The same might be said in regard to his honesty, frugality, &c. Whatever he did was conscientiously, heartily, and faithfully performed.

At the Thursday lecture in Boston he was for many years a constant attendant. One hundred times he officiated in his turn at that time-honored service, and when others stood in the pulpit he led the singing in the gallery opposite. A synopsis of the sermons of other preachers there, which were usually made and preserved by him, are extant.

Dr. Pierce was a tall and well-proportioned man, about six feet in height, of commanding figure, with a benignant countenance. His silver locks gave him a venerable appearance even in middle life, his hair having early become white. For the greater part of his lengthened life he enjoyed almost uninterrupted good health. With the exception of a rheumatic fever which he had in 1805, when about thirty-two years of age, he had scarcely a physical infirmity until his last sickness. Only thirteen Sabbaths was he kept from his pulpit during the fifty years of his ministry. As has been intimated, he was an early riser. The sound of his saw and the sharp click of the axe might be heard often in the neighborhood of his woodshed in winter before daylight blushed in the east, and in summer his garden bore evidence that it was not the field of the slothful man or of an undue lover of ease. In his ministerial exchanges he would frequently walk both ways, making a travel on foot sometimes from six to eight miles and more a day, which he would accomplish without apparent weariness. He was so fond of music that he would frequently, when away from home, after preaching all day, spend a whole evening with kindred spirits in singing sacred songs. During his last illness the weekly visits to the parsonage on Saturday evenings of "his sweet psalmists of Israel," as he playfully called his choir, were to him a source of comfort and delight.

Dr. Pierce was strongly devoted to the interests of Harvard College, his beloved *Alma Mater*. "He had pored over her Triennial Catalogue till it was engraven upon the tablets of his heart, and he knew the year in which every one of her sons, among his extensive acquaintance, graduated, and, in most cases, the year in which they were born." He was present at sixty-three Commencements, and for fifty-four years in succession "set the tune" of St. Martin's to the Commencement Dinner hymn, that was sung by none we may believe with more ardor than by himself. His interest in "old Harvard" was a growth which never wearied, but increased to mature life and faded not in age. When a school-boy he frequently walked from his father's house, in Dorchester, through Roxbury, over the Neck, to the College buildings in Cambridge, to gaze on those brick walls where, in after years, though then he knew it not, he was to receive his scholastic education.

For many years he was connected with various religious, charitable, literary, and historical societies of the neighborhood. He was admitted a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, January 31, 1809, and was made an Honorary Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society October 14, 1846. He bequeathed to the former eighteen quarto volumes in manuscript, his "Memoirs and Memorabilia," containing notes and observations through a period nearly of half a century, full of facts relating to persons and things which are truly valuable. To the same Society he gave many rare Massachusetts Election Sermons, collected through a series of years, in the procuring of which he took a lively interest.

He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Bible Society, and its first Secretary, a position which he held more than nineteen years, and afterwards as its President twenty-one years, the two offices being held by him forty years, during its whole existence until his resignation, within a few months of his death. He was Secretary of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College more than thirty-three years, from May, 1816, until July 12, 1849, when he resigned. For fifty-two years Dr. Pierce was a member of the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, and for ten years the scribe of that Association. For thirty years he belonged to the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, and through his whole ministry was connected with the Boston Association, whose meetings he scarcely ever missed. He served through his entire ministry on the School Committee. Among his published works were a centennial, bi-centennial, and various other historical discourses and addresses; sermons before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, and in 1849, the year of his death, the Annual Election Sermon before the Massachusetts Legislature. A list of the publications of Dr. Pierce may be found in Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," VIII. 338.

Dr. Pierce was pre-eminently a Christian man and minister. This was evident to all who knew him. It was abundantly manifested in his preaching, pastoral relations, daily life, and conversation. His appearance in the pulpit was impressive. His loud, clear voice would ring through the aisles, every word distinctly uttered with an emphasis singularly effective. With what fervor he would pray, and how heartily read and sing the hymns of which we have in mind that beautiful one, written by William Shrubsole, Jr., commencing, as printed in our collections, thus: —

As every day, thy mercy spares,
Will bring its trials or its cares,
O Father! till my life shall end,
Be thou my counsellor and friend.

"If any one might dare to cherish the hope of inheriting through the Father's mercy the promises in the Beatitudes, Dr. Pierce might. He was a Christian in his trustful faith, his sincere devotion, his endeavors to keep the commandments, if ever there was a Christian on earth." He was the very opposite of sectarian. He had a positive dislike to party names and denominational differences, desired only to be called by the name of Christian, and was willing and desirous to hold fellowship with all "who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." "Love to God and love to man was his creed."

One who stands high in the denomination to which he belongs, as a Christian minister, who was intimately acquainted with Dr. Pierce, expresses himself in these words: "While the First Congregational Church in Brookline holds together, while Massachusetts Congregationalism exists, while Harvard College stands, while the science of statistics is valued, or the gift of memory prized, while cheerfulness, piety, charity, temperance, a hale old age and venerable locks are loved and honored, there is no danger that the mention of Brookline, or the First Congregational Church there, will not call up the name of Dr. Pierce as inevitably as the sun follows the day."

THEODORE CUSHING

Theodore Cushing, the subject of this memoir, was born at Haverhill, Massachusetts, March 9, 1770. His parents were Captain Caleb Cushing and Sarah Sawyer, he being the fourth of eight children. His grandparents were the Rev. James Cushing, pastor of the church at Plaistow, New Hampshire, and Ann Wainwright. Madam Cushing, his grandmother, was left a widow, and was an inmate of his father's family during his childhood. She was a firm believer in the divine right of kings, and of course a Tory. I have not the date of her death, but she lived to the great age of ninety-nine years eleven months and ten days.

The first event of any note in my honored father's recollection was being awakened about three o'clock on the morning of the battle of Lexington, by some one striking on the door with a riding-whip and calling: "Quartermaster Cushing, get up in a minute: the regulars are marching to Concord!"

He was lying asleep in a trundle-bed, and distinctly remembered that in half an hour his father and an apprentice living with him got ready and left for Lexington. His father did not return home for a year and a half: the apprentice never came back. One little incident of the morning, also distinctly remembered, was his crying because the apprentice-boy carried with him a wooden trencher on which my father used to eat, and also a block-tin porringer in which he ate his bread and milk.

My grandfather, at the close of a year and a half from the beginning of the war, came home only to go again after a few weeks and remain during the entire war of the Revolution. He was at West Point at the time of Arnold's defection, and held the position of brigade quartermaster. His absence, during the long years of the war, left the family in a state of dependence upon my grandmother and the older children; and the family suffered much privation, as did many other families in New England at that time. Sometimes my grandfather sent home some of the Continental money, which was of so little value that it took $100 to purchase a bushel of corn and $10 was paid for a pound of pork.

Such was their poverty that my father was compelled to work almost from his infancy, and, having learned to make seats to rush-bottomed chairs, he often, at the age of eight years, would take a bundle of flags on his shoulders, and go sometimes four or five miles in the morning and reseat chairs, and get for his work a pound or two of pork, or a few quarts of meal, and return at evening in time for the family supper. This was told me by some of the old people whom I visited at Haverhill in 1831.

So passed the earlier years of his life in almost constant toil for bread. Of course he had little time for school, the brief term of *thirteen and a half days* being the entire time of his school education; and yet, with so little of school opportunity, by improving his leisure hours he acquired the rudiments of the Latin language, so as to read and construe Æsop's Fables and some book of colloquies, and to write a large book of fragments of poetry, before he was eighteen years old. Such was his thirst for knowledge that he read almost every book or publication within his reach; two or three volumes of the Spectator, Clarissa, Johnson's Rambler, an odd volume of Sir Charles Grandison, Robert Boyle, and Mather's Magnalia, forming nearly his entire reading.

About that time he conceived the idea of going through college, an uncle, the Rev. Gyles Merrill, who was at that time pastor of the church at Plaistow, the same to which his Grandfather Cushing had ministered, promising to assist him; but some cause prevented the fulfilment of his purpose, and he soon after went to Hopkinton in New Hampshire, and for some time engaged as a salesman in a store. After remaining in Hopkinton for a time, about 1793 or 1794 he removed to Salisbury, New Hampshire. On his journey from Hopkinton to Salisbury he met Abigail Jackman, the daughter of Deacon Samuel Jackman of Boscawen, to whom he was married on the 27th of May, 1798. She was the mother of eight children: Samuel, born January 23, 1799, now living at Crete, Illinois; the Rev. James R., born November 24, 1800, who was pastor of the church in Boxborough, Massachusetts, also at East Haverhill and East Taunton, and is now residing at Haverhill; Ann, born November 2, 1802, the wife and widow of Deacon Enoch Foote of East Haverhill; Nathaniel Sawyer, born December 7, 1804, who now resides at Lombard, a suburb of Chicago, Illinois; Sarah Jackman, born February 14, 1807, died December 31, 1809; Emily Morrel, born July 9, 1809, married the Rev. Samuel Porter, and now resides at Crete, Illinois; Maria Abigail, born February 11, 1812, died September 3, 1840; William Theodore, born January 28, 1816.

At Salisbury he made the acquaintance of Daniel Webster, who was a law student, and the first case Webster ever tried in any court was for him. He lived in Salisbury until 1806, a part of the time suffering from a catarrhal difficulty which rendered him unable to work at his trade. He spent some time travelling in the interest of a Federal newspaper published at Concord. During that time he wrote a series of political articles under the signature of the "Free-Will Baptist Preacher," which were attributed to Esquire Bowers, to the Rev. Dr. Thomas

Worcester of Salisbury, and to a lawyer of Concord, whose name I cannot recall, which had the effect to secure almost the entire vote of the Free-Will Baptist denomination for the Federal candidate for Governor, the result of which was his election in a very closely contested canvass.

He also wrote a series of letters to young men, which appeared anonymously in a literary and religious magazine, called the "New Star," published at Concord, which were much complimented at the time.

In 1806 he removed to Thetford, Vermont, where he devoted himself to his trade and to farming; and there he remained till June, 1831, when he sold his farm and removed to West Greece, near Rochester, New York. Here he engaged in the manufacture of furniture and spinning-wheels, which he carried on till his death. While residing here he had for many years charge of a public library, and spent considerable time in reading and writing for the press, most of the articles being of a political character.

The first vote he ever cast was for Washington at his second election, and he continued an ardent supporter of the Federal party until the old party lines were lost during the administrations of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams, of the latter of whom, from personal acquaintance and friendship, he was an ardent supporter; and he always continued to act with the old Whig party.

He made a principle of voting at every election, and always voted in opposition to any of the Democratic party principles, and affirmed that the Democratic party had its inception in a determination to break up and dismember the Federal government.

Being possessed of a very retentive memory, he remembered dates and events with singular accuracy; and he was referred to on questions involving dates or historical facts so often, that when he lived in Vermont it was frequently said, "Ask Mr. Cushing: he knows everything."

During some of the last years of his life he would give the roll of Congress by States from 1798 till 1812, and the names of all the members of the different cabinets, and the year when almost any of the Senators first took their seats.

In the year 1837 Daniel Webster visited Rochester, and addressed a large political gathering. After dinner he held a levee, and as the people were being introduced to him by the Hon. Maltby Strong, my father and myself went into the room. Mr. Webster turned to Dr. Strong and said, "There comes a man to whom I need no introduction, Theodore Cushing. I knew him in Salisbury, New Hampshire, thirty-eight years ago,—one of the most honest, industrious men I ever knew." Such was his reputation in his early business life, and such it continued till his latest day. He was possessed of a confiding, truthful disposition, consequently was often imposed on by those who took advantage of his confidence.

For more than fifty years he was an active member of the church of Christ, and for many years a zealous worker in the Sabbath school. He was also deeply interested in the missionary work in foreign lands, and for nearly forty years did not fail of a monthly contribution to the funds of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

He was a member of the Masonic Order, and during his residence in Vermont was one of the leading men in that fraternity. He became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, October 15, 1847.

His death occurred January 13, 1850, after a brief illness of eight or nine days, in which he suffered but little except a sense of weariness; and his physician said there was no disease but the giving out of nature. And so, wearied with a long life's toils, he lay down to rest. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of the community among whom he had so long borne his part as a good citizen, an obliging kind neighbor, and a sincere Christian man.

SAMUEL TURELL ARMSTRONG

Samuel Turell Armstrong was born in Dorchester, April 29, 1784. His father, Captain John Armstrong, died November 20, 1794, at the age of forty-six, and his mother died February 11, 1797, at the age of forty-seven. Among the relics which he valued highly was his father's commission in a military company, which he preserved in a handsome frame. He was placed as an apprentice with Manning and Loring, printers and booksellers in Boston. At the termination of his apprenticeship he began business on State Street in connection with Joshua Belcher. One of their publications was a literary periodical called "The Emerald." This partnership being dissolved, he set up a printing-office in Charlestown, and there published the first numbers of the "Panoplist," a monthly magazine devoted to religious subjects, and especially to the promotion of missionary enterprise.

In 1811 he removed to Boston, and began as publisher and bookseller a career of remarkable prosperity. In addition to the "Panoplist," numerous works, original or republished, in advocacy of the old faith of New England, made his store (then known as 50 Cornhill) the great mart of religious literature for the Orthodox churches. An illustration of the zeal of purchasers may be found in the following note to the fourth edition of the Memoirs of Mrs. Harriet Newell, one of the first missionaries to India: "The critical reader will observe many errors in punctuation, especially in the use of the comma; our only apology for which is the urgent call of the public for this edition."

In 1818, Uriel Crocker and Osmyn Brewster, his apprentices, who had just attained their majority, became his partners. Many of the publications of this firm were of great value as aids to the study of the Bible in the original languages. Their edition of Scott's family Bible in six royal octavo volumes in 1820 was almost the earliest, and certainly at that time the largest and boldest experiment of stereotyping in America. Their general partnership was dissolved in 1825, but Mr. Armstrong was more or less connected in business with the succeeding firm of Crocker and Brewster until 1840, and his almost daily visits to the old counting-room continued till the very day of his death.

Mr. Armstrong gave much of his time and service to public interests. He was Captain of the "Warren Phalanx" in Charlestown at a time when the war with England made the commission more than a matter of parade and feathers. He was an active and influential member of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association for more than forty years, and as President of that society in 1828 and 1829 he exerted himself in every possible way to promote its prosperity and honor. He became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society April 17, 1845, and contributed liberally toward the expense incurred in its formation. Mr. Charles Ewer, the first President of this society, was Mr. Armstrong's cousin. He was twice a Representative of Boston in the Legislature; once a Senator for the county of Suffolk; Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts for two terms, when Levi Lincoln and John Davis were Governors; and he was acting Governor in 1835 for ten months, Governor Davis having been transferred to the Senate of the United States. His last public service was as Mayor of the city of Boston in 1836. As he was active in politics, so was he zealous in promoting the faith he professed, being a deacon for many years of the Old South Church and Superintendent of its Sunday school. He took an active interest in societies for religious and charitable objects, and aided them by a liberal expenditure both of his time and his money.

Of his faithfulness in such relations, one of the resolutions of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association after his decease gives a true testimony: "We revere his memory for that integrity of purpose which distinguished him as well in his private relations as in his public official character, and for that practical wisdom and steady industry which rendered him an efficient man in all his undertakings, and enabled him to fill with so much credit the honorable duties of friend, associate, and citizen."

The following incident bears testimony to his fairness in his business dealings. At the fiftieth anniversary of the copartnership of Crocker and Brewster, in 1868, when their numerous friends were gathered around them, Mr. Crocker related very briefly some of the many interesting facts of their business life. He had stated the circumstances of their connection with their first partner. "I wish to say that the whole connection of Mr. Brewster and myself with him was pleasant, and our mutual confidence unlimited. We knew him intimately. He was true, he was honest, he was kind and generous. I will give one illustration of his character. When he built his house on Beacon Street he made a contract with a builder to do all the work for a certain sum. The builder fulfilled his contract faithfully, but it cost him nearly five thousand dollars more than the contract price; and he was unable to meet the liabilities incurred for materials for building. In this state of the case Mr. Armstrong wished me to look over the bills and vouchers. I did so, and was satisfied that they were all correct. He then asked my opinion as to what he ought to do. He clearly was under no legal obligation to pay more than the contract price, and I did not wish to give my advice in the matter; but, as he urged it, I told him frankly my opinion that he had better pay the full actual cost of the house. 'Then,' said he, 'you really think I had better pay it, though I am not bound to do so.' After thinking a minute or so he said, 'I have asked your advice and you never gave me wrong counsel. To-morrow is my birthday, the 29th of April. If you will come to the office at eleven o'clock [he was then Mayor of the city and his office was in the Old State House], I will give you my check for the whole amount, and you shall go and settle it for me.' And this was done."

Mr. Armstrong was married in 1812 to Abigail Walker (born January 3, 1794), daughter of the Hon. Timothy Walker, of Charlestown. His widow is still living: he had no children. Mr. Armstrong possessed portraits of the Rev. Mr. Turell of Medford and two female members of his family, also of the Revs. Increase and Cotton Mather and of the Rev. Joshua Huntington of the Old South Church.

He made two trips to Europe, visiting its most interesting cities. In anticipation of the last voyage, he made his will, by which, in case his wife deceased before him, he gave the largest portion of his estate for those charitable and religious purposes which he had been zealous in promoting, but left all for her disposal if she survived him. The day before his death he opened the envelope, and pencilled on the will itself some of the items of a new will. Perhaps some peculiar feelings suggested the wisdom and duty of being ready, but there was nothing known to his wife or his associates which indicated any infirmity. In the afternoon of the 26th of March, 1850, he attended a business meeting of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and returned to his house about six o'clock in the evening. He sat down in his parlor in apparently perfect health and strength; but a few minutes afterwards, in attempting to rise from his chair, he fell dead.

Mr. Armstrong, within a few years of his death, wrote a very full autobiography, which is probably still preserved; but it could not be found, by his widow, in season to be used in preparing this sketch.

WILLIAM COGSWELL

THIS Christian minister, educator, statistician, editor, theologian, and eminent servant of the Lord, was born June 5, 1787, in Atkinson, New Hampshire.

His ancestor, John Cogswell, came from Westbury, near Salisbury Plain, England, and settled on a grant made to him by Charles I. of three hundred acres of land in Chebacco, now Essex, Massachusetts. His maternal ancestor, Giles Badger, was one of the first settlers of Newbury, Massachusetts. These men, whose descendants were to fill places of such prominence in New England and become so closely allied by marriage and intermarriage, both arrived here in 1635.

His father was Dr. William Cogswell, who was scarcely less distinguished as a civilian and magistrate than as a physician. In early professional life, during the last years of the American Revolution, he was under appointment of the government first as surgeon's mate, afterward as chief surgeon in charge of the military hospital at West Point, the whole period being from July 19, 1781, to September 1, 1785. Prior to this, at the opening of the war, at the age of fifteen he had entered the army as a soldier and served out his enlistment, so that he fulfilled a term of more than five years in the service of his country, and, together with his seven brothers, completed an aggregate service of more than thirty-eight years, said to be the longest period of service rendered by any single family in the country during the great struggle for our national independence.

Subsequent to his service at West Point he settled in Atkinson, New Hampshire, where he lived in a very successful practice of medicine until his death, January 1, 1831.

His mother was Judith Badger, who was the youngest daughter of Gen. Joseph Badger, one of the original proprietors and most prominent citizens of Gilmanton, New Hampshire. She was a woman of noble qualities and devout piety. Like the famous mother of the Gracchi, she could point to her children and say, "These are my jewels."

William Cogswell was the eldest of nine brothers and sisters, eight of whom lived to mature age, attained an honorable eminence, and fulfilled useful lives. Of this family were the Rev. Nathaniel Cogswell, for thirty years the minister of Yarmouth, Massachusetts; Judge Thomas Cogswell, of Gilmanton, New Hampshire; Francis Cogswell, Esq., of Andover; and the Hon. Dr. George Cogswell, of Bradford, Massachusetts. The younger of his two sisters became the wife of the Hon. William Badger, of Gilmanton, twice elected the Governor of New Hampshire.

Mr. Cogswell was born a few years after the close of the war of the Revolution, under the shadow of religious and educational institutions which his father had been largely instrumental in establishing and maintaining. He pursued his preparatory studies at the Atkinson Academy, then in charge of the Hon. John Vose, who was for twenty-one years its honored preceptor. In 1808 he entered the Sophomore class in Dartmouth College. During his collegiate course he maintained a high standing for scholarship, and was honorably graduated in the class of 1811, which was the largest that had then ever entered or graduated at that college. While at the academy Mr. Cogswell had received deep and abiding religious impressions; these ripened into a full and declared Christian experience early in his college course, and at the close of his Junior year he made a public confession of his faith, and united with the Congregational Church of his native town September 23, 1810, then under the pastoral care of its first and for forty-six years its only minister, the venerable Rev. Stephen Peabody.

Upon leaving college, Mr. Cogswell commenced his public labors. These extend over a period of nearly forty years, and were a varied service in the interest of the Master's kingdom, which was ever first and uppermost in the thoughts, plans, and efforts of this devoted man. Immediately after graduation he was engaged for a year as an instructor in the academy of his native town. He was then called to Hampton Academy, where he remained for another year. While teaching in Hampton he commenced his studies for the Christian ministry, under the direction of the Rev. Josiah Webster, then pastor of the ancient church of that town. During these years devoted to teaching, Mr. Cogswell began to manifest that clearness of conception, that ability to instruct and persuade, and that earnest concern for others' spiritual welfare which afterward so remarkably characterized his labors and rendered him so eminently and widely useful. When he had completed his engagement at Hampton his health seemed to be failing, and his physicians advised him to abandon his professional studies for a time and take a rambling excursion on horseback over the country. His ministerial friends advised that he take a "license to preach the gospel" in his pocket, and make the excursion as an itinerant preacher. He adopted the advice of both, and at once obtained a good saddle-horse and a licensure to preach the gospel, of the Piscataqua Association of New Hampshire, September 29, 1813, and started in pursuit of health and men's souls. With the blessing of God he was successful in both objects. He journeyed to the lake and mountain regions of Northern New Hampshire, where he found bracing air, animating scenery, and "religious destitution." He came to a town where no public worship was held, went about among the people, rallied them to come together, and preached to them in increasing numbers for several Sabbaths, until his little stock of written sermons was exhausted. In this exigency he determined to preach to them once more, even if he had no manuscript before him. This he did, and that unwritten sermon excited great attention. The people were deeply stirred, many conversions occurred, a great revival followed, and a large number ascribed their conversion to that unwritten discourse. A church was formed, and subsequently a pastor settled, and to this day the ordinances of religion are maintained in that place. Such were the great results of that extempore discourse, that the young preacher soon after wrote it out with great care and elaboration, and preached it in other places with expectation, but to his disappointment and mortification, as he said, he never afterwards even so much as heard that the least notice was ever taken of it. Returning after some months, with good health and the seal of his Master's approval on his ministrations of the gospel to the needy, he resumed his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Daniel Dana, D. D., of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Subsequently he studied for a longer period with the Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., of Salem, Massachusetts, preaching meanwhile more or less and fulfilling Christian labors as opportunity offered. But having completed about three years of theological study, he felt that the time had come to enter into the full work of a Christian minister; and the providence of God seemed at once to open the way. He was invited to go as a candidate to Dedham, Massachusetts. Accordingly he preached for the South Church in that town, and received, January 30, 1815, a unanimous call of church and parish to become their pastor. He accepted the invitation, and accordingly was duly ordained and installed as their minister, April 26, 1815.

At this time he was twenty-seven years of age, a man of fine personal bearing and manners, animated by a warm Christian spirit which spoke in the very lineaments and expression of his open and frank countenance. Such were the qualities of his mind and the able instructions he had received, that his views of Christian truth were clear and pronounced. He was very gifted in prayer, tender and persuasive in appeal, and possessed pulpit abilities of a high order.

The church over which he was settled was in a low spiritual condition, and had lapsed from the sturdy faith of the fathers into the lax views prevalent in that day. But their new minister seemed to be just the man for the place. He had in him the elements which afterward made him the discriminating theologian, whose well-shaped statements of Christian truths have done a great work and are still doing excellent service in educating both ministers and churches in scriptural doctrines.

Under the Rev. Mr. Cogswell's clear-cut statements, his transparent, argumentative, forcible, but tender presentations of gospel teaching, the church quickly rallied to a better understanding and grasp of religious truth, and advanced into a new spiritual experience, life, and activity. The audience increased, conversions occurred, and the church and congregation, lately so far declined in faith and paralyzed in its spiritualities, were soon re-established in evangelical doctrine and roused to a quickened spiritual life.

This pastorate covers a period of fourteen years, 1815–1829, — a period of very faithful ministerial labors and of important results in the history of that church.

Mr. Cogswell was much blessed of God in his ministry, and became greatly endeared to his people. The membership of the church under his ministrations was doubled; many of the men of the place, husbands and fathers, became Christians, which has added greatly to the power and commanding influence of religion in that community even to this day.

The success of his pastorate is believed to be the result, in a large measure, of his steadfast "aim to preach the gospel faithfully, plainly, prudently, and kindly, without equivocation and without reserve."

During the third year of his ministry he was married, November 11, 1818, to Miss Joanna Strong, youngest daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Strong, D. D., of Randolph, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Cogswell was a lady of rare and delicate endowments, and brought to her new position qualities and acquisitions which made her not only the light and ornament of a minister's home, but which also greatly endeared her to his parishioners and made her widely useful as a helper in the Lord's great work. In 1829, while fulfilling with great acceptance and with the Divine blessing his ministry, Mr. Cogswell received an appointment as General Agent of the American Education Society. Accordingly he tendered his resignation, which was reluctantly accepted. The Ecclesiastical Council met December 15, 1829, and advised the dissolution of the pastoral relation, bearing most cordial and honorable testimony "to the wisdom, ability, fidelity, and tenderness with which their beloved brother had uniformly discharged the arduous duties of the pastoral and ministerial office."

The next day the same council installed his successor, the Rev. H. G. Park, who had been introduced and recommended by the retiring pastor. On the following Sabbath the Rev. Mr. Cogswell took leave of his beloved people by preaching a very appropriate valedictory discourse, which was published.

Beside fulfilling the regular work of his pastorate, Mr. Cogswell prepared for the press and published a "Catechism of the Doctrines and Duties of Religion," which found ready sale and passed through two editions; and later he published his "Manual of Theology and Devotions," which went into a large number of New England homes to prove a great spiritual help and blessing. During his ministry seven of his discourses were requested by the people for publication, and some of them passed into a second or third edition. As early as 1818 he preached a telling discourse on Intemperance and its Suppression, which was issued and read widely as a temperance docuent. Another sermon on Religious Liberty had a wide circulation. He early won a prominent place in the ministry and in the respect of the surrounding churches by his ability and printed productions.

Leaving Dedham and the parish where for fourteen years he had labored with great satisfaction and success, he removed to Boston, and we now follow him into another field of public labor, as Agent and Secretary of the American Education Society.

The Rev. Mr. Cogswell was appointed General Agent of the American Education Society for New England June 27, 1829, and entered upon the duties of that office the 20th of the August following. Hardly entered upon this new service, we find the society's Annual Report of 1831 bearing such testimony as the following to his efficiency: —

> "The Rev. William Cogswell, General Agent of New England, has given strength and activity to the operations of the society in this portion of the country beyond what has ever been witnessed. The Board of Directors cannot forbear to express their high sense of the value of the services which Mr. Cogswell has rendered to the cause of the American Education Society in every place which he has visited."

May 26, 1831, he was chosen a member of the Executive Committee, and the Rev. Elias Cornelius, D. D., the Secretary of the society, having resigned October, 1831, it is said of Mr. Cogswell, "such was his popularity in this department of labor that, January 25, 1832, he was elected Secretary and Director of this important institution." As the successor of Dr. Cornelius he occupied a position "which was said, in some of the journals of that time, to give a man more influence than any other position in New England."

In 1833 Williams College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1837 he was elected a member of the Board of Trustees of Andover Theological Seminary. It was during these years of various and wide labors and responsibilities that he edited four volumes of the "American Quarterly Register," involving great research, and the patient labor of bringing together much valuable material from sources widely apart. The work of collecting and gathering up this large amount of statistics, besides that of editing, he to a great extent accomplished himself. During this period also he prepared and published "The Theological Class Book," "The Christian Philanthropist," and "Letters to Young Men preparing for the Christian Ministry," carrying on at the same time a very wide correspondence with all the colleges of the country, with hundreds of students, and travelling from Maine to Georgia, back and forth, in the interests of the society, and pleading with the churches, and with men of wealth in private, to give of their means to help in this work of educating young men for the ministry; doing a work in magnitude, in diversity, involving an amount of toil and patient endeavor, that is perfectly astonishing to review, and with a success that was not less wonderful. But all human labor and endurance have a limit. After a period of twelve years he was at length compelled by his excessive labors and responsibilities, and on account of failing health, to entertain the thought of some change;

and, being elected to a professorship in Dartmouth College, he resigned his office March 8, 1841. But not until his resignation was renewed, April 14, 1841, was it accepted, and then with great reluctance, to take effect the 30th of April, 1841.

Dr. Cogswell was connected with the American Education Society as an active agent and officer for a period of twelve years. For two years he was General Agent, and for nearly ten years he was the Secretary of the society and a member of the Board of Directors.

The extent of the society's operations and the amount of good accomplished by its instrumentality during this period may, with propriety, be referred to as an evidence of the devotedness, efficiency, and success with which he had labored for the promotion of its interests. Of the three thousand three hundred and eighty-nine beneficiaries, two thousand five hundred and sixty-three had been aided during this time, being nearly three-quarters of the whole number who had then been assisted by the institution. Of the eight hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars then raised by the society, six hundred and fifty-two thousand dollars were contributed during the period of his connection with it, being more than three-quarters of all the money hitherto brought into the treasury of the society.

These are only the more tangible results, among others which it would not be easy to compute (vide Annual Report for 1841, pp. 41, 42). The following was adopted and entered upon the minutes of the society : —

"While this Board, in compliance with the renewed request of Dr. Cogswell, reluctantly accept his resignation of the offices he has held in this society, they would embrace the present opportunity to bear their cheerful and united testimony to the high character which Dr. Cogswell has sustained, during his connection with this society ; to his untiring labors, his devoted zeal, and his signal success in promoting the best interests of the institution, during nearly twelve years of his connection with it; and they do affectionately commend him to the guidance and blessing of Almighty God, and to the confidence of the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the friends of good education in every place, while their kindest wishes attend him in the honorable sphere to which he is called by the trustees of Dartmouth College."

An incident is told of Dr. Cogswell, while prosecuting his benevolent work, illustrating too hasty criticism and also providential deliverance from perplexity. It appears that his father on his dying bed had delivered over to his eldest son, William, a costly piece of personal jewelry, charging him to wear it as long as he lived as a memento of his father and a token of his love. This brilliant ornament became a troublesome affair as Dr. Cogswell appeared before the public to solicit their contributions or plead with individuals in private for their gifts to his cause. Almost invariably, when he called on a gentleman who was a stranger and stated his business, the stranger's eye would fall at once upon that piece of jewelry, and his looks would say, "You are a pretty fellow, indeed, to come here as a beggar for benevolence, with that expensive thing dangling on your person!" It became a matter of great perplexity as to what he should do with this memento of love which his father on a dying bed had charged him to wear in remembrance of him, but yet which occasioned great embarrassment to his work. Providence, however, very soon relieved his perplexity, for it happened one day, after a long ride in a crowded stage-coach, Dr. Cogswell found that this precious but troublesome souvenir was gone; whether lost or stolen, he never knew. "But this," he said, "I do know, — it never troubled me afterward."

Having terminated his official connection with the American Education Society, Dr. Cogswell removed from Boston to Hanover, New Hampshire, and entered upon his new duties as Professor in Dartmouth College. By a unanimous vote of the trustees, January 12, 1841, Dr. Cogswell had been elected Professor of National Education and History in that institution. This was a newly established professorship in the college, but very much in accord with Dr. Cogswell's natural tastes and somewhat in the line of certain of his pursuits hitherto. Consequently he entered upon his new duties with great delight and zeal. He at once projected an outline of study; he prepared and delivered a course of lectures on educational and historical subjects. Very soon he established "The Northern Academy of Arts and Sciences," with its library, for which, in the course of the few years of his connection with the college, he collected twelve hundred bound volumes and five thousand pamphlets, some of them being very rare and valuable. He collected a goodly number of volumes for the college library, and secured to the college funds some twenty-two thousand dollars.

While thus engaged in this various service for the advantage of the college, and with high satisfaction to himself, he was elected to the presidency and professorship of Christian Theology in the Gilmanton Theological Seminary. In order to accept this appointment he resigned his professorship in Dartmouth College under date of January 11, 1844, having held the position about three years. In a private letter written by the president of the college, Rev. Nathan Lord, D. D., the following reference is made: —

> "Dr. Cogswell, during his connection with the college, was assiduous, earnest, and faithful: his attachment to the college was remarkable, and was as disinterested and genuine after he left as before. He sought to do it good, and not evil, all his days."

While Professor at Hanover, he was brought by his department of instruction into his favorite fields of historical and antiquarian research and study, and into corresponding relations to the various historical societies of this and other countries. He was an honorary member of the historical societies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Georgia; of the various antiquarian societies of America and Europe, among others of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, Denmark. He became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 8, 1846.

November 22, 1843, Dr. Cogswell was elected by the trustees of Gilmanton Theological Seminary as President and Professor of Christian Theology. He was appointed also Financial Agent and Trustee of Gilmanton Academy. His letter of acceptance was dated January 11, 1844.

Dr. Cogswell removed to Gilmanton, New Hampshire, and undertook his appointed but discouraging service. In fact, the seminary, for one reason and another, was under such depression that it was simply impossible to recover it to any permanent life and efficiency. Dr. Cogswell threw himself into its interests nobly, but it was all in vain. The churches and general public did not give to the seminary their confidence and support, and, after about two years of intense but unavailing effort to awaken the public Christian interest in the institution, he was constrained to abandon the enterprise, and accordingly tendered his resignation, May 9, 1846, which was not accepted by the trustees until the following November 12, 1846, and then with great regret.

Having terminated his connection with the seminary, Dr. Cogswell retired from all official relations to the public, but still kept on in abundant public labors during the closing period of his life. The four remaining years of his crowded, laborious, and useful life were as devoted as those that had gone before, to a multiplicity of labors.

He continued to give theological instruction privately to such students as resorted to him. He preached in different pulpits on the Sabbath. He was called by the unanimous vote of church and parish to become the pastor of the East Church in Haverhill, Massachusetts. This call he accepted, but afterward recalled his acceptance and declined the invitation. He continued to reside in Gilmanton, and supplied for a period the pulpit of the First Church, ending his service for them only at the behest of the illness which terminated his life.

During the last few years of his life Dr. Cogswell devoted himself almost entirely to editorial labors. He edited the "New Hampshire Repository" in two volumes, 1845-1847; and under his editorship was published, in 1847, the first volume of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register." For a short time he was editor of a newspaper published in Georgetown, Massachusetts, called the "Massachusetts Observer."

He prepared biographical sketches of his classmates in college, the class of 1811, which were published in 1850. But his last work was to edit the sixth volume of the "New Hampshire Historical Collections," a book of three hundred and thirty-six pages, nearly the whole of which was revised by him in his sick-room, the last proof-sheet of which was sent to the printer on Monday morning, and he died on the following Thursday, April 18, 1850.

Dr. Cogswell's life was busy, laborious, and crowded to its very close, the grand results of which we can never know or measure in this world. Still we see enough to command our admiration, and we wonder that one man in forty years could do so much, such various and abundant service for the world and the honor of Him whom he served. His life's work was nobly and faithfully done, and his death was triumphant.

Some two years before the closing scene of his own life, Dr. Cogswell had experienced the crushing sorrow of seeing death close the eyes of his only son, and with a father's broken heart had followed him to burial. This son, a young man of twenty summers, was, at the time of his death, a member of the Senior class in Dartmouth College, a student of fine scholarship, of brilliant endowments and promise. It was a heavy blow to the afflicted family. From this affliction Dr. Cogswell never seemed to recover. For two years his health was declining, although he did not stop work, but labored on unceasingly, and completed his last undertaking only the very week of his death. His end was that of the righteous man, — peace.

Thus passed on to glory this eminent man and faithful servant of God, leaving in the earthly home the bereaved wife and two daughters to mourn their loss.

The funeral service occurred on the Lord's Day following, April 21, 1850. A memorial discourse was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Daniel Lancaster, which was afterwards published by general request. The text was: "So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord" (Deut. xxxiv. 5).

Perhaps no better conclusion can be given to this memorial sketch than to quote the testimony of the Rev. Nathan Lord, D. D., President of Dartmouth College, given to his distinguished memory. President Lord says: —

"I held Dr. Cogswell in high consideration. I knew him intimately, and had been conversant with him on many occasions of difficulty and trial, when men are apt to make known the essential parts of their character. On such occasions he was best. They brought out the hidden qualities, which sometimes, on account of his peculiar manner in ordinary intercourse, were not sufficiently appreciated by those about him. He was then more remarkably, as always really, true to Christ and to the Church, true to all the great interests of life, and true to himself. He was the most remarkable instance I have ever known of a strong self-love in a Christian mind never exalting itself against the love of God, and never degenerating into selfishness. That is a great virtue. I never knew the time when the question was between himself and God, or between himself and man, that he did not, with a hearty disinterestedness and a childlike humility, and with affectionate weeping, cast himself down, that man might be benefited and God glorified; and he never made himself of consequence, but only as in his judgment that was connected with the paramount interests of Christ's kingdom, in the propagation of a sound theology and of sanctified learning. He had a true Christian charity, and there was no man in my acquaintance with whom I ever felt that the cause of God in this wicked world would be safer, in a time of exigency, than with him. At such a time, from his very benevolence, and an extreme cautiousness, and from his quick sensibility and tact, he would at first have been too politic; he would have asked counsel of prudence; he would have tried to manage affairs according to worldly wisdom, and would have been in real danger of mistaking the expedient for the right. But when the crisis came, and godliness or worldliness became the simple issue, he would throw away worldly reliances and decide for God. He would have done this, even at the stake. He would have been a martyr to his faith. It is my belief that he was one of the few of God's true men.

" Dr. Cogswell had a sound faith. He was true to the orthodox theology of the Bible as the needle to the pole. He thought it, and wrote it, and preached it, as one who knew it. He was experimental, and not more dogmatical than every experimental believer ought to be. He held the form of sound doctrine fast, as he had a right to do. He could not be cheated by the pretensions of our modern naturalism, and that, in my judgment, was greatly to his praise. I honored him the more because, with his remarkable humane affections, he yet held to stern Calvinism, and never suffered his sensibilities to mislead him into any of the sentimental and godless philanthropy of the times. He did not oppose and denounce enthusiasts and fanatics, for he had none of the qualities of a polemic, but they never had his sympathy or countenance. He knew too well the difference between regenerate and unregenerate minds, and that Christ alone could save the world."

JOSEPH SEWALL

The subject of this memoir was born in Boston, March 9, 1762. He was the son of Samuel and Elizabeth Quincy Sewall. His father was a son of the Rev. Joseph Sewall, D. D., for many years minister of the Old South Church. His mother was a daughter of Edmund Quincy, of Braintree. His father was a merchant, and a graduate of Harvard College of 1733. His mother dying in 1770 and his father in 1771, the boy was left to the care of his relations. Early in the Revolution he was sent from Boston. He was for some time at Dummer Academy in Newbury. He was intended for a merchant, and was brought up for that purpose in Boston, at the store of Samuel and Stephen Salisbury, who carried on business at Worcester as well as Boston. Samuel Salisbury was his brother-in-law, but much older than he. Soon after he became of age, but I do not know the exact year, Joseph Sewall commenced business as a trader in Marblehead.

In 1788 he was married to Mary, daughter of Thomas Robie, who was one of the proscribed refugees that adhered to the mother country at the time of the Revolution. He fled to Halifax, Nova Scotia, with his family, but returned to this country at the end of the war, where he was well received by his old friends. He lived at Salem for many years after his return, and kept a small store. He was highly respected for his fair dealing.

Joseph Sewall continued in business in Marblehead till 1799, when he moved to Boston. In this place he went into partnership with his nephew, Samuel Salisbury, Jr., under the firm of Sewall and Salisbury. Their business was importing dry-goods. A short time after, John Tappan, a son-in-law of Deacon Samuel Salisbury and Josiah Salisbury, brother of Samuel, Jr., were added to the firm, which became Sewall, Salisbury, & Co. The business was prosperous, and considered large in those times. Messrs. Tappan and Josiah Salisbury retired from the firm a considerable time before the partnership between Joseph Sewall and Samuel Salisbury ceased. I cannot fix the date when the partnership terminated, but it was not far from 1815.

Soon after this Joseph Sewall entered into partnership with John Williams and his son, Thomas R. Sewall, under the firm of Sewall, Williams, & Co. This partnership was successful for some years; but in 1826, principally in consequence of the failure of relations in New York, for whose debts they had become responsible, it became necessary for them to make an assignment of their property for the benefit of their creditors. The partners readily obtained a full discharge from all their debts, and the creditors had a large dividend. I am happy to say also that both Joseph Sewall and John Williams afterwards succeeded in paying their shares of all the debts which had not been fully paid under the assignment. From this, however, I believe must be excepted debts where they were merely sureties for others, the partners not conceiving themselves under any moral obligation to discharge such debts after they had gained a legal discharge.

Previous to the failure of the firm, Joseph Sewall had moved to a house built by himself in Brookline, and had withdrawn very much from active participation in the business of the firm.

Shortly after his failure he was chosen by the Legislature Treasurer of the Commonwealth, in 1827, and was continued in the office for five successive years, the longest period allowed by the Constitution. The last year, however, was shortened some months by an amendment of the Constitution making the political year begin in January instead of May. His being chosen to an office of so great responsibility immediately after his personal financial embarrassment showed the high confidence which his fellow-citizens entertained of his integrity and business capacity. He experienced no difficulty in finding sureties on the heavy official bonds which the law required of him.

Some time before the city of Boston was incorporated he was chosen for a year one of the representatives to the General Court from the town of Boston. He became an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society January 13, 1847.

Mr. Sewall's wife died July 23, 1834. He died May 5, 1850. He had four daughters and three sons, who lived to maturity, but all died young long before him, except Thomas R. Sewall, who died in 1865, and Samuel E. Sewall, who still survives.

DANIEL PUTNAM KING

The first of the name, William King, emigrated from England to Salem in 1635. He was the father of Samuel, who also had a son, Samuel, who married Hannah Hanson. Their son, Zachariah, was born January 25, 1744, married Desire, a daughter of Daniel and Sarah (Dudley) Jacobs, and died November 16, 1832.

Their son, Daniel, the father of this sketch, was born March 12, 1769, married Phebe, daughter of Ezra and Mehitabel Upton, and died December 9, 1846.

Daniel Putnam King was born in that part of Danvers, Massachusetts, which now constitutes the town of Peabody, January 8, 1801. He was the son of Daniel and Phebe Upton King, both of whom were descendants of the first proprietors of the territory of that vicinity, and who were prominent in the community for uncommon mental and physical endowments.

Daniel P. commenced his education in the district school which at that time laid the foundation of the education of the strong men of New England. His education was continued at Saco, Maine, and at Phillips Academy, Andover, where he completed his preparation for college. He entered Harvard College in 1819, graduating in 1823. During his college course he was faithful and attentive to his studies, always performing well and conscientiously all duties assigned him. He was not ambitious in the rivalry of college life, — in that system of emulation which has been so prevalent in our institutions of learning, and which is distasteful to minds of broad views, and to those desirous of general culture. His modest and courteous bearing won for him the respect and good-will of his classmates, and his conscientious devotion to his duties secured the highest esteem of his instructors. After graduation he immediately commenced reading law, but he never completed his professional studies.

In 1824 he married Sarah Page, only child of Hezekiah and Sally Putnam Flint, and immediately took up his residence upon the farm left by his wife's father in the westerly part of the town, and which he made his future home. Here he devoted himself to agriculture, and those pursuits which were congenial to his tastes as a scientific farmer.

In 1835 he commenced public life as one of the Representatives of his native town in the State Legislature. After a service of two years in the House he was elected one of the Senators of Essex County. He was a member of the Senate four years, the last of which he was President of that body.

As a member of the Legislature in both branches Mr. King was known as a faithful and efficient member, and as President of the Senate he was noted for promptness and accuracy of his decisions and for his impartial courtesy toward members of all parties. In 1842 he was again elected to the House as Representative, and was chosen Speaker after a long and heated canvass. The position of Speaker of the House in 1843 was peculiarly a trying one, as the Governor and Council and both branches of the Legislature were Democratic, and in opposition to the party represented by Mr. King. But so skilful and impartial were his conduct and administration while Speaker that he won the confidence and compliments of all parties. Seven years' service as a member of the State Legislature closed his career in that body, but it prepared him for a broader field. In December, 1843, he took his seat as a member of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-eighth Congress, and was re-elected at each succeeding term until his death, which took place July 25, 1850. As a member of Congress Mr. King was an uncompromising opponent of all measures which tended to strengthen the hold of slavery upon the institutions of the country. His whole course upon the slavery question was open, candid, vigorous, and consistent, and his honest candor in the avowal and maintenance of his opinions won for him the encomiums of his Southern opponents, which the cowardly and patronizing course of so many Northern members failed to win.

As a member of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, and as Chairman of the Committee on Accounts, Mr. King was most efficient, and his reports and statements were always received with full credit by opponents as well as friends of the measures in question. It is not necessary or proper here to designate the details of the work in which Mr. King bore the most prominent and honorable part. It is enough to put upon the record the high standing which he assumed and maintained in every work which he undertook, and the respect and courtesy which he won from all parties, for the faithfulness and honesty which marked everything which he did and said.

In his speeches, in his votes, and in his position with the minority of fourteen as an opponent of the Mexican war, his course was always actuated by high and fixed principle, by his love of peace, of liberty and his country. Mr. King left Washington on the day when the death of President Taylor was announced to Congress. He was much worn by his labors and the excitement of this critical period of public affairs. His death occurred at home July 25, 1850, and before his illness had hardly become known beyond the circle of his family and friends. His death was announced in the House of Representatives, July 27, by his colleague, Mr. Rockwell, who, in his eulogy of the deceased, characterized him as "unassuming, industrious, and conscientious in the discharge of every duty. In all the relations of private life he was without reproach; his life was an active blessing to all around him. It was made such by the religious principle which was the living spring of all his conduct. He was an humble, active, devoted Christian."

Mr. Winthrop gave his testimony as follows: "I can truly say that I have rarely met with a juster or worthier man, or with one more scrupulously faithful to every obligation to his neighbors, his country, and his God." These words are the highest eulogy that can be paid to the memory of any man.

Mr. King left a widow and three sons and three daughters to mourn his early death.

The names of his children, with dates of birth and death of four, are as follows: —

Ellen Maria, born January 16, 1825, died March 4, 1849.
Caroline Watts, born January 21, 1826.
Sarah Page, born April 14, 1828, died June 28, 1863.
Benjamin Flint, born October 12, 1830, died January 24, 1868.
Daniel Webster, born March 1, 1833.
Edward Everett, born August 1, 1835.
Rebecca Cleaves, born November 18, 1837, died February 15, 1867.

In this notice of the public career of Mr. King we have to add that he was an active member of the different scientific bodies of the State into which his well-known scientific taste had introduced him. He was a member of the Essex Historical Society, of the Essex Natural History Society, was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, November 25, 1849, and was also a member and Trustee of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Agriculture. He was Secretary of the Essex Agricultural Society from 1842 to

1844, and was one of its Vice-Presidents and Trustees until his death.

In the personal appearance of Mr. King there was nothing striking. His deportment and bearing would not suggest to a stranger any especial adaptation to positions of influence. His address was pleasing, but retiring and unpretentious. In stature he was of medium size. His countenance indicated a genial and amiable spirit rather than one born to rule. He was always scrupulously neat in his dress, with no aim to be fashionable. In fact, it seemed to be his aim to avoid notoriety in the various ways by which so many young public men seek it. His voice was flexible, and capable of great strength and endurance. In the choice of his religious associations he exhibited the same love of truth and independence which characterized him in every other sphere of his life.

He was a member of the Unitarian Church of South Danvers (now Peabody), and was always known as a sincere, devoted, and constant worshipper. He did not seek to make known his religious faith by criticism or controversy, but by a devout and Christian life, — a life which fully sustained the highest eulogies pronounced over his grave, a life which has given to history a model for the honest statesman and the Christian gentleman.

DANIEL PINCKNEY PARKER

Mr. Parker was the son of Benjamin and Abigail (Taylor) Parker of Southboro', Worcester County, Massachusetts, in which town he was born on the 30th day of August, 1781. He served his apprenticeship as a clerk in the store of Benjamin Rice in the adjacent town of Marlboro'. Afterwards he removed to Boston, where, in 1810, he entered into a copartnership with Nathan Appleton and his brother, Eben Appleton, the firm-name being Parker & Appletons. Nathan Appleton, his partner, was the well-known merchant and member of Congress, whose writings on finance and industrial subjects have given him a high reputation. In 1813 this partnership was dissolved, and for the rest of his life Mr. Parker conducted business alone with eminent success. His places of business were successively in Broad, Kilby, and State Streets.

Mr. Parker was married in Marlboro' on the 8th of December, 1806, to Mary Weeks of that town, who survived him, and died in Boston in July, 1863. She was a daughter of Jonathan and Lucy (Newton) Weeks. They had four children, namely: Lucilla Pinckney, born October 17, 1810; Mary, born September 17, 1814, and died March 8, 1816; Henry Tuke, born May 4, 1824; and Emily Taylor, born December 5, 1826.

Lucilla Pinckney Parker, his oldest child, was married, October 14, 1833, to Edmund Quincy of Boston, a prominent and early advocate of the abolition of slavery in this country, and a meritorious writer on political and literary subjects. They had six children, namely, Edmund, John H., Henry P., Mary, Morton, and Arthur B. The two youngest died in 1849. Lucilla P. Quincy died November 6, 1860, and Edmund Quincy, her husband, died in Dedham, May 17, 1877, aged sixty-nine, he having been born in Boston, February 21, 1808.

Henry Tuke Parker, the only son, was graduated at Harvard University in 1842, and in 1845 at the Law School connected with that institution, from which he received the degree of LL.B. In 1853, Trinity College, at Hartford, Connecticut, conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M. He is now a resident of London, England. He is a writer of ability, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and a member of other learned societies. He married, January 6, 1847, Lucy A. Upham of Boston.

Emily Taylor Parker, the youngest daughter, was married in August, 1863, to Benjamin Pickman of Salem. She died December 4, 1863.

Daniel Pinckney Parker, the subject of this sketch, died in Boston, August 31, 1850, after a painful illness of several months, aged sixty-nine years and one day. During his life he owned many ships of superior model and sailing qualities, having paid particular attention to the construction of sailing-vessels. The "Boston Daily Atlas" in an obituary notice, September 3, 1850, pays this tribute to his memory: —

> "Among the many public-spirited merchants who have contributed to extend the commercial enterprise of Boston, few have been more zealous or successful. He had built for him nearly forty sail of vessels, and no man fitted his ships more liberally or took greater interest in the welfare of those in his employ. He was liberal in his charities without being ostentatious, was an affectionate husband, a kind father, and an upright citizen."

One who knew him long and intimately writes me: "He was a man of kind feelings, who liked to give pleasure, and his memory is cherished by his friends with respect and affection."

He was a Unitarian in his religious belief, and attended the West Church, of which the Rev. Charles Lowell, D. D., was pastor.

He was admitted a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, January 11, 1847 and his membership was changed to honorary, March 3, 1847.

WILLIAM ELY

The Rev. William Ely was born in North Killingworth, Connecticut, June 27, 1792. His father was Richard Ely, M. D., a valued physician of the place. His mother was Eunice Bliss, daughter of Mr. Oliver Bliss, of North Wilbraham, Massachusetts. While William was yet a little child the family removed from North Killingworth to the Second Parish in Saybrook, and a few years later, in 1805, by a second removal, was settled in another part of the ancient Saybrook, now the town of Chester.

A worthy and honored ancestry lay behind him. His great-grandfather was Deacon Richard Ely, of Lyme, Connecticut, an active and prominent man in that town in the first half of the last century. Of his seven sons two became ministers of high standing and character. Rev. Richard Ely was graduated at Yale College in 1754, and was for twenty-eight years the minister of North Madison (formerly North Bristol), Connecticut, and for twenty-eight years, till his death in 1814, the minister at Centerbrook, Connecticut. As one year intervened between the two settlements, his ministerial life covered a period of fifty-seven years. Rev. David Ely, D. D., was graduated at Yale College in 1769, and was the life-long minister at Huntington, Connecticut. For nearly thirty years he was an active member of the Corporation of Yale College. He died in 1816. Rev. Zebulon Ely, a nephew of the two named above, was graduated at Yale College in 1779, was a tutor in the college, and afterward the life-long minister of Lebanon, Connecticut. He died in 1824. A son of Rev. Zebulon Ely was the celebrated Dr. Ezra Stiles Ely, so long a prominent Presbyterian minister in the city of Philadelphia.

The boy William had, therefore, among his ancestral and remoter kindred enough to stir his scholarly tastes and prompt him to a literary career. But nearer at hand the same influences wrought upon him more directly. His father was a graduate of Yale College of the class of 1785, and his uncle (his father's only brother), William Ely, Esq., of Hartford, was graduated at Yale in 1787.

With all these influences behind him and around him the boy was from early life destined to a collegiate course of culture. Owing to the illness of his father, he being the eldest child, peculiar responsibilities were laid upon him in early life as to the care of the family. Thus his native energy was trained and cultivated, and he acquired an aptitude for practical affairs. At the age of seventeen, in 1809, he entered Yale College, and graduated in regular order in 1813. He took a good rank in a class of seventy, and had for his classmates an unusual number of men who reached a high fame and position in after life. We may mention a few names by way of illustration. The celebrated mathematical and astronomical Professor at Yale College, Alexander Metcalf Fisher, whose early death, while crossing the Atlantic in 1822, caused such public mourning, was of this class. Professor Denison Olmsted of Yale College; Dr. A. B. Longstreet, President of South Carolina College; Dr. Elisha Mitchell, a well-known Professor in the North Carolina University; David B. Douglass, Professor in West Point Academy, and afterwards President of Kenyon College, Ohio; George E. Badger, Judge of the Supreme Court in North Carolina, and long in service at Washington as Senator and Secretary of the Navy; Rev. Elias Cornelius, D. D., Secretary of the American Education Society, and afterwards Secretary of the American Board, one of the most powerful pulpit-orators in the land a half-century ago,—these were among the more prominent of his classmates.

After graduating he was employed one year as teacher in an academy at Wethersfield, Connecticut. In the autumn of 1814 he went to Andover Theological Seminary, where he passed through the three years' course of theological study, coming out in 1817, at the age of twenty-five. While at Andover he had for room-mates Professor Fisher, already referred to, and Rev. Levi Parsons, so well remembered for his important missionary services in Syria.

The year after leaving Andover, in 1818, he received and accepted a call from the Congregational Church in Vernon, Connecticut. This church was then fifty-five years old, having been organized in 1762. During the whole period of its existence its minister had been Rev. Ebenezer Kellogg, whose death occurred in 1817, and whose descendants are among the leading people of Vernon to this day. Mr. Ely remained here but four years, when he left, and in 1825 accepted a call from the church in North Mansfield. He was installed August 31, 1825. Here the main part of his ministerial life was passed. He remained here sixteen years, until April 25, 1841, when through failing health he retired from any public ministerial charge, but for the nine remaining years of his life performed a great amount of miscellaneous work. He was elected a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 26, 1847.

It so happened, in the changes of early life, that the writer of this sketch, then a boy, went to reside in the town of Vernon soon after Mr. Ely left the ministry there. Their late pastor was pleasantly remembered by the people of the town, and from time to time he used to return to spend a Sabbath with his former charge. He was of small stature and was permanently lame, and as he used to mount up the pulpit stairs with his cane a stranger might not anticipate a remarkable sermon. But when he had reached the pulpit, and his face fronted the audience, there was a vivacity in his look and manner that betokened good things. In his public speech there was a life and sometimes a sparkle such as made him an attractive preacher especially to the young. The writer, in after years, heard him, in like manner, in the pulpit of North Coventry, where Dr. G. A. Calhoun was so long pastor. Dr. Calhoun and Mr. Ely were warm friends and companions, and as their parishes were not far apart they frequently exchanged. A young person's standard of good preaching is often quite different from that of one in mature life. But we have no other than pleasant recollections of the man, and of his style of pulpit address. In his later years he became a great favorite in connection with Sabbath schools. Nowhere was he more in his element than in his familiar addresses to children and youth. Rev. Lavius Hyde, who was minister in the neighboring parishes of Bolton and Ellington, and whose intimate acquaintance with Mr. Ely began at Andover Seminary and continued through life, says of him, in this connection: —

> "From the time of the earliest county organizations of Sabbath schools to the close of his labors in the vicinity, he was, by universal consent, the leader of the band associated for the study of the 'Book of Life.' For a field so rich in attractions and so inspiring with hope he was especially qualified."

After leaving North Mansfield in 1841, as already said, he never took charge of any other parish. For a few years he taught a select school in North Coventry, where he was intimately associated with Dr. Calhoun, whom he greatly admired and loved, and who was, in his day, a man of marked power and influence in all that region.

The last years of Mr. Ely's life were passed in Easthampton, Massachusetts. His special motive for choosing that as the place of his residence was on account of the advantages it afforded for the education of his children. There the wife of his youth died suddenly September 8, 1846. Her maiden name was Harriet Whiting, daughter of Spencer Whiting, Esq., of Hartford. They were united in marriage in 1820, two years after Mr. Ely's settlement at Vernon. Six children were born into their household, none of whom died in early life.

Amid growing infirmities Mr. Ely lingered four years after the death of his wife, passing away November 2, 1850.

In compiling this sketch use has been made of two manuscript memoirs of Mr. Ely,—one by the late Rev. Lavius Hyde of Bolton, Connecticut, and the other by the late Rev. George A. Calhoun, D. D., of North Coventry, Connecticut. These memoirs have been obtained for the Committee on Memorials by Miss Clarissa Ely of Binghamton, New York, a sister of the Rev. Mr. Ely, who has been at much pains to collect biographic details relative to her brother.

WILLIAM PITT GREENWOOD

William Pitt Greenwood, born in the town of Boston, Saturday, May 10, 1766, was the youngest of the five sons of Isaac and Mary (I'ans) Greenwood. His grandfather, Professor Isaac Greenwood of Harvard College, was descended from a stock located towards the close of the sixteenth century in the city of Norwich, England, departing whence his immediate progenitor, Nathaniel, had settled in Boston towards the year 1650 as a shipbuilder.

William's early education was probably no better than that afforded his elder brothers at the North Writing School, under old Master John Tileston, with this advantage, however, that, owing to his youth, he had not been turned aside from study by an outburst of military ardor at the commencement of the Revolutionary War.

His father, in the local papers giving a description of the "Boston Massacre," is termed "ivory-turner." This business naturally embracing dentistry, then purely a mechanical occupation, he pursued, and his son William became a proficient therein, being alluded to, when twenty-one years of age, in the will of his grand-aunt, the widow of Colonel Robert Hale of Beverly, as an "ivory-turner."

By the invitation of his brother John, who had settled in New York after the war, he removed to that city, and assisted him there for a short time in his business, whence he proceeded to Savannah, and returning, disappointed at the prospect of success in the Southern States, commenced about 1790 the practice of dentistry at Salem. A few years after his rooms were located near the Mall, in Boston, in the building formerly occupied by the Massachusetts Bank, and we find in one of his advertisements at the time (1795), the new-fashioned term "dentist," immediately succeeded, by way of explanation, by the older and more familiar title "operator for the teeth and gums." He continued in his profession for many years, keeping pace with its rapid progress, and in November, 1841, obtained the degree of D. D. S. from the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. At a meeting of the American Society of Dental Surgeons, held in Boston during the month of September of the following year, Dr. Greenwood gave an interesting account of the state of the profession fifty years previous, and it was remarked of the aged practitioner that his step was "still elastic, and his mind possessed of the vigor and freshness of youth."

He was indeed through life a bright, intelligent man; kindly and genial in his ways; pleasant in converse, and loving much the companionship of books, through which he well filled out any lack of youthful education. That he was industrious is well evinced by his unaided success in life. His honesty and truth were unbounded; the least shadow of deception or unfairness calling forth his severe condemnation upon the transgressor, be his position ever so high, his degree of kinship ever so near. With great energy of character and action he possessed a peculiar family oddity, better illustrated perhaps by the following anecdote than otherwise expressed. It was proposed, on one occasion, to give the officiating clergyman of a certain church in Boston leave of absence for three months on account of ill health. The church committee, comprising the wealthiest men of the society, voted that the edifice be closed for the time. Mr. Greenwood, who was a constant attendant, and a great advocate of church-going, opposed this movement on the ground that those of the society who possessed no country-seats to go to should not be deprived of attending their own church; declaring that he would himself go if he went alone. No heed was given to his words, which were regarded as a mere whim, whereupon, the following Sunday, Mr. Greenwood went to the sexton, directed him to open the church at the usual hour, and, entering, occupied the desk and read through the entire morning service, with the old sexton as sole congregation. This he did not have to repeat, for on the next Lord's day a minister was provided, and some were heard to express the wish that there were more men like Dr. Greenwood.

His memory was vivid, and his reminiscences were always interesting. He had, early in the century, restored the old family-tomb on Copp's Hill, which he had rescued from the hands of desecration, and he liked to relate how, accompanied by the Hon. William Sullivan as an advocate, he had descended with fire and sword upon the party who had dared to sell the bones of his ancestors. Frequently on his periodical visits to this place he would point out the locality of his father's earlier residence on Salem Street, near Christ Church, and the spot, a few rods distant, where a battalion of British troops were quartered in 1775, and from which he and his friend Cazneau saw them march off on the morning of June 17 "in high feather," to be brought back in the afternoon wounded, dying, and dead, their blood being bailed from the boats like water. He could remember, too, Major Pitcairn, as he was being carried along, mortally wounded, through Charter Street, to be buried afterwards under the neighboring church.

Dr. Greenwood married, July 23, 1796, Mary, daughter of Captain John and Mary (Walley) Langdon* of Boston; the ceremony having been performed by the Rev. John Clarke. She survived him but a few years, and, dying, after a short illness, June 5, 1855, was interred at Mount Auburn. Of this most estimable and exemplary lady very pleasing obituary notices appeared at the time from the pens of the Rev. Dr. Frothingham and Mr. S. D. Bradford in the columns of the Daily Advertiser. She was the mother of ten children, of whom the eldest and most prominent was the distinguished divine, Francis William Pitt Greenwood, born February 5, 1797, Harvard College, 1814; died August 2, 1843. The others were: Emmeline, born December 10, 1798, died July 7, 1817; Alfred,* born February 5, 1801, Harvard College, 1824, a Congregational minister, died at Grantville, Massachusetts, April 20, 1868; Mary Susan, born April 19, 1805, died March 15, 1874, the widow of the Rev. Samuel Barrett, D. D.; Edwin Langdon,† born April 19, 1807, died March 4, 1865; Catharine Amelia, born March 24, 1810, died October 20, 1867, the widow of George Bartlett, M. D.; Angelina, born March 16, 1812, died March 20, 1850, wife of Richard Warren, merchant and auctioneer of New York; Alexander Adolphus, born April 25, 1814, died August 31, 1823; Emmeline, born October 8, 1816. This latter lady,‡ who is still living in Boston, the wife of Mr. Charles L. Hayward, has in her possession a portrait of her late father taken some years since.

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* N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., XXX. p. 36.

He was admitted a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, July 14, 1845.

Dr. Greenwood towards the close of his life resided for some years at Roxbury, and died at Boston, in the full possession of all his faculties, Saturday, May 10, 1851; being the eighty-fifth anniversary of his birthday. His remains were interred in the family vault at Copp's Hill.

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* His son Alfred, born April 16, 1841, the last direct male representative of Dr. William P. Greenwood, died in January, 1880.

† N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., XIX. p. 364.

‡ To whom the writer would acknowledge his indebtedness in the compilation of this memoir.

WILLIAM SAVAGE

William Savage was descended in the sixth degree from Thomas Savage, the founder of the family, who arrived in Boston in the year 1635. In 1637 he married Faith Hutchinson, daughter of the celebrated Ann Hutchinson. Thomas Savage was a man of influence in the infant colony, and held many offices, both civil and military.

William Savage was born in Boston, Massachusetts, August 30, 1779. He was the seventh child of Habijah Savage and Elizabeth, daughter of John Tudor, being one of a numerous family of eight sons and three daughters.

Before he was nine years old both parents were taken from him; the father becoming permanently deranged and the mother being summoned by death to leave her children.

William found a home with his maternal grandparents, with whom he lived, going to school most of the time, until he was fourteen years old. This was considered the age at which a boy should become self-dependent; therefore, a place having been found for him in a store at Alexandria, District of Columbia, William left Boston on his birthday to make his way in the world. He remained in Alexandria four years, proving faithful in business, and at the same time embracing every opportunity for adding to his education. He went little into society during those years, yet that he made friends is shown by the most affectionate messages sent to one and another, after an absence of twenty-three years, through a niece who went to reside in that city.

The 7th of December, 1806, Mr. Savage married Mary Ingersoll, daughter of Nehemiah Ingersoll of Boston, to whom he was most tenderly attached. October 1, 1807, their home was gladdened by a little daughter, named Mary Elizabeth, and July 1, 1810, the birth of "a fine son," William, was announced to a friend, but he did not long live to gratify the glad father.

In May, 1812, came a new and bitter sorrow in the parting from his much-loved wife, who died at that time. After this his affection centred upon the little daughter, to whom he was always, to use her own words, "the kindest father that ever daughter was blessed with."

Soon after the death of Mrs. Savage her husband failed in business, and in the spring of 1813 left Boston, to be absent for five years, during which he was acting as supercargo or commission merchant, spending most of his time in voyages between Hamburg and Havana, and in attending to business at those places.

His letters to his little daughter through the eight years of separation are full of thoughtfulness for her comfort, of good advice most pleasantly given, of praise and encouragement, and of the tenderest love. These letters and others are filled with accounts of places, journeys, pictures, natural scenery, dinners, balls, and impressions of distinguished people, showing a life of varied interests and occupations.

On one of Mr. Savage's voyages occurred an event showing the dangers of the seas even at that late date, an account of which shall be given in his own words: —

"On Saturday, December 9, 1818, between the Bahama Bank and Key Sal Bank, we were boarded and taken possession of by a small schooner of about thirty tons, having one gun mounted on a pivot and thirty men. She manned us with twelve men and steered for the Florida coast. The privateer then went out and returned with two small vessels, a schooner and a sloop, and we all steered over the reef and were brought to anchor in a little harbor formed by the Florida Isles and the Martyr's Reef, as snug a hole as buccaneers could wish. As soon as we anchored they threw off our boats, took up the hatches, and began to take out our cargo. Having filled their vessels, with another brought in that morning, with plunder, they came aft to look for valuables. Till now, Wednesday noon, our cabin had been respected. They now came below and took from the men packages of laces, and from my trunks some gold watches and other valuable goods. They brandished their knives (every man had one about a foot long) and swore they would have something, some money or something very valuable that was concealed, or they would kill every soul of us, and particularly they threatened me. I went on deck, appealed to the pirate captain, told him I was afraid of my life, and went with him on board the privateer. He said he was satisfied with what he had got, but he had no command on board; the men would do as they pleased; that I need entertain no fears for my life, but had better tell at once if there was anything concealed. I told him there was nothing. When I returned to the ship they were still ransacking the cabin, making dreadful threats particularly against me, the supercargo. Towards night all the pirates left us for the first time and went on board their vessel, and we hoped they had done with us, but the next morning, seeing our topsail loose, they came in great haste and abused us well for daring to move without their leave. At noon a boat's crew came towards us. I attempted to go on board the privateer to see the captain, but was ordered back by the bows. As soon as they came on board they told us in the most dreadful manner that they had come to find where the gold was, and that if we would not tell they would hang every man on board and burn the ship. Davis, the spokesman, drew his knife and swore that every man should die unless he found the money, and *first* he would hang the supercargo. He called for the rope which had been brought on board fitted with a hangman's noose, sent a man up to the mizzenyard and hove it and brought the noose down. One man held it and another stood ready to hoist. 'Now,' said Davis, surrounded by his myrmidons, 'tell us where is the money.' 'Where are your diamonds? or I'll hang you this minute.' In vain I repeated that I had nothing more, except my watch, which I offered him but he would not take it. 'Once more,' said he, 'will you tell?' 'On then with the rope,' said the villain, 'and hoist away!' The fellow with the noose came towards me and I sprang overboard. . . . After some time they took me up apparently insensible. They took off all my clothes and laid me on my back on deck, where I lay naked, except a blanket thrown over me, five hours without moving hand or foot. Meanwhile a scene of plunder, noise, threats, and drunkenness was going on which beggars all description. They robbed us, and especially me, against whom they seemed to have a particular spite, of everything of the least value. They took my razor, comb, and pulled the ring from my finger as I lay apparently insensible."

Mr. Savage afterwards told his friends that during this time one of the pirates tested his insensibility by drawing a knife across the cartilage of his nose, and as he did not flinch believed him dead. At length he contrived in some way to let the captain of his own vessel know that he was alive, and this captain afterwards proposed that his men should "put that body below." This having been allowed, Mr. Savage was laid apparently dead upon a table, and after a time the captain found opportunity to secretly administer a little wine.

"The pirates sent my trunks on board the privateer and took all my clothes. At night they left us, but returned for a few minutes once or twice to see how I was. I was bad enough, you may be sure.

"That night the privateer schooner went to sea with two of her convoy. After she was gone a man from a wrecker came on board and offered to pilot us out and over the reef, but we were afraid that he would run us ashore and take what the pirates had left, and declined his services. The next morning, Christmas day, we got under way. We had taken good notice of the courses which we had steered in coming in, and, keeping the lead constantly going, found our way to blue water without much difficulty, and the next morning, Saturday the 26th, arrived without farther accident at Havana."

The month of June, 1819, Mr. Savage passed with his friends in Massachusetts, but on July 3 he again sailed for Europe, to continue his wandering life until June, 1822, after which time his residence was in Boston, and his occupation that of a commission merchant for many years.

In 1823 he married Miss Harriet M. Hooper, niece of Hon. Charles Bradbury of Boston; and from their home in Mount Vernon Place, his daughter was married.

In 1835, having been unfortunate in business, at one of the great crises in the commercial world, he sold his house, and afterwards boarded for some years, till in 1847 he formed a new home in Essex Street, where the last years of his life were spent in regular business, the calm enjoyment of friends, and the excursions into the country which he always particularly enjoyed. His delight in youthful society and his genial disposition made him a delightful companion and kept him always young.

Late in life he became President of the newly formed Columbian Insurance Company, which did not prove a success. He became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 12, 1847.

Among the strongest characteristics of Mr. Savage were the courage and buoyancy of disposition which, combined with trust in a Higher Power, enabled him to be cheerful and bright under all circumstances, also the benevolence, ready sympathy, and thoughtfulness for others which made every one near him happy.

On the 30th June, 1851, came the close of this peaceful life. As Mr. Savage seemed to be recovering from a painful illness of six weeks there came a sudden change, and he sank quietly to rest, leaving a delightful memory in the hearts of many friends.

HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

Henry Alexander Scammel Dearborn, son of Henry and Dorcas Osgood Dearborn, was born, March 3, 1783, in Exeter, Rockingham County, New Hampshire. His early years were spent on a farm, on the banks of the Kennebec, in Maine. After giving sufficient time to his studies at Hallowell Academy, he entered Williams College, Massachusetts; graduating, however, at William and Mary's College, Virginia, in 1803.

He studied law first in Washington, District of Columbia, and afterwards in the office of the late Judge Story, in Salem.

He was married, May 3, 1807, at Salem, Massachusetts, to Hannah Swett Lee, born October 6, 1783, the daughter of Colonel William Raymond Lee, of the Revolutionary Army, and Mary Lemmon, daughter of Dr. Joseph Lemmon, of Marblehead, Massachusetts. She survived him, and died October 10, 1868. They had three children: Julia Margaretta, born January 25, 1808, married the Hon. Asa W. H. Clapp, of Portland, Maine, where she died June 3, 1867; Henry George Raleigh, born at Salem, Massachusetts, June 22, 1809, still living in Roxbury, Massachusetts; William Lee, born at Salem, Massachusetts, June 12, 1812, died in New York City, March 15, 1875.

In the same year he commenced the practice of law in Portland, Maine; but it soon became evident that this profession was not to his taste. One reason of his dislike to it was characteristic, — he said it obliged him to take money often from persons who stood in the greatest need of it themselves, and to whom he felt impelled to give something rather than exact anything from them.

Abandoning, therefore, the law, he applied for a foreign diplomatic mission. This he could easily have obtained by his qualifications, as well as by the aid of many influential friends he had in the Cabinet at Washington. Fortunately, he was dissuaded from it by the advice of Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, who said to him that "no man ought to go to reside for any time abroad under the age of forty; for he would lose his American tastes and ideas, become wedded to foreign manners and institutions, and grow incapable of becoming a loyal, useful, and contented citizen at home." This was sound advice, and had its intended effect.

Somewhat later he was appointed to superintend the erection of forts in Portland Harbor. He next became an officer in the Boston Custom House, where his father was Collector; and on his father's appointment to the command of the Northern army in the war with Great Britain, the son was made Collector in his stead. In 1812 he had command of the troops in Boston Harbor. He was removed from the office of Collector in 1829, after a faithful service of over twenty years.

He was Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1816, and in 1820–21 a member of the convention for revising the Constitution of Massachusetts.

In 1829 he was chosen Representative from Roxbury n the Legislature of Massachusetts, and was immediately transferred to the Executive Council (in 1830). The next year he became Senator in the same Legislature; and at the next election was chosen member of Congress (1831–33) from the district in which he lived.

After serving one term in Congress, he was appointed Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, in which office he continued till 1843. He was elected a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society April 15, 1847.

In 1847 he became Mayor of Roxbury, which place he held until his death. He died in Portland, Maine, July 29, 1851. His disease was an affection of the throat.

My earliest recollection of General Dearborn brings before me the noble form and intellectual face of a man in the prime of life who had already become eminent by the successful discharge of many public duties. Some of these have been already mentioned, — important certainly as official duties of every-day life, but not exceeded in importance by others of a different class which his good taste and public spirit led him to engage in. He was a man of enlarged views in whatever concerned the interests of the community. He could see the advantages of many public enterprises which men more practical and less enthusiastic could not see, or, if they did see, would not favor.

If anything occurred to him which would improve the public taste, kindle patriotic sentiments, or in any way add to the refinement of the people, he gave it his hearty encouragement and support. He never stopped to consider what the cost would be, or whether there would be any pecuniary result. The question with him was not what would benefit a party, but what would be most for the public good.

The foundation and remarkable success of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society are due mainly to him. He was the first president of that Society, and, as subsequent events showed, was just the man for such an office; and yet it is probable that if his associates had known him better, he would have been the last man they would have thought of electing for their leader. He was all enthusiasm, they all prudence. He was determined to have an institution that would be an honor to the State, cost what it might, — an institution which would create a love of the beautiful in nature and in art. Their views were not so ambitious. But that enthusiasm which they thought was going to bankrupt and ruin them was the means of making the Society what it now is, — one of the grandest and most influential in New England.

His powerful hand was seen also in the establishment of Mount Auburn and Forest Hills cemeteries. No one can visit those beautiful grounds without seeing all around abundant evidence of his good taste, skill, and industry.

He was also a prominent member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and gave to that enterprise the benefit of his efficient aid in every possible way.

One of his characteristics, which all who knew him must have noticed, was his untiring industry. He could not be idle. When not engaged in official duties, he was at home, busy with his pen, or in his garden with his trees and flowers.

He was an easy and constant writer. Besides numerous contributions to periodicals on various subjects, especially on horticulture in all its departments, he was the author of the following works: "Commerce of the Black Sea," 3 vols. 8vo, with charts; "History of Navigation;" a work on Woad or Pastel; "Address delivered on the Second Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Roxbury;" "Defence of General H. Dearborn against the Attack of General Hull;" "Internal Improvement and Commerce of the West;" "Address before the Berkshire Agricultural Society;" "Sketch of the Life of the Apostle Eliot." The above were published.

In addition to them, he left the following in manuscript, beautifully written: "Life and Correspondence of General H. Dearborn," in 11 vols. 4to; "Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill;" "Inquiry into the Conduct of General Putnam in relation to the Battle of Bunker Hill," — the last two in one volume with the Defence of

General H. Dearborn; "Treatise of Grecian Architecture," 2 vols. folio; "Life of Colonel W. R. Lee, U. S. A.," 2 vols. 8vo; "Life of Commodore Bainbridge," 1 vol. 4to; "Life of Jesus Christ," 2 vols. 8vo; "Memoir of Mount Auburn."

LEWIS BRADFORD

Every year witnesses the death of useful and prominent persons who have occupied positions of honor and responsibility, — professional men, statesmen, politicians, men who have acquired celebrity for their success in the acquisition of wealth, and with their fortunes are well known for their liberality in private and public enterprises. While there is no danger of such persons being forgotten there is also another class, useful and deserving, whose memory should be carefully preserved, who have nobly acted their part and successfully striven to elevate and enlighten the masses; and if such have been but little known beyond their peculiar sphere, their departure has left a void not easily filled.

Such a man was the subject of our sketch. Deacon Lewis Bradford was born in Plympton, in the county of Plymouth, Massachusetts, on Sunday, March 20, 1768. He was a lineal descendant in the seventh generation from Governor William and Alice (Southworth) Bradford, who was the second Governor of Plymouth Colony, who came from Austerfield, Yorkshire, England, in the ship Mayflower, and arrived in Cape Cod Harbor, November 11, 1620.

Levi Bradford, his father, was a highly respected and religious man, a husbandman, and part-owner in the mill privilege near the old Forge on Winnetuxet River, in the southerly section of Plympton. He was of an ingenious turn, and could easily adapt himself to various kinds of labor and mechanical trade; a steady, upright, and Christian man, enjoying the confidence of his fellow-citizens, as appears by his having held many public offices. He was often elected collector of the town rates, warden, and constable, also clerk of the military company under the command of Captain Thomas Loring. He was also a member of the Congregational Church in Plympton. His grandfather was Gideon Bradford, Esq., who resided in the north part of that town near the old Furnace. He afterward (1761) removed to the south part of Plympton village, where he purchased a large tract of land (about two hundred acres). Upon this farm resided the father of Deacon Bradford. Gideon Bradford became the sole owner of what was known as the old Forge on Winnetuxet River. He conducted this forge till they ceased making iron, in 1774, at which time he removed with his family to Charlotte Furnace, in the south part of Carver, said to have been the first place where hollow ware was cast in this country. He held the office of justice of the peace, and was selectman and assessor as well as moderator of the town-meetings held in his native town.

The mother of Deacon Bradford was Elizabeth Lewis, a daughter of Daniel and Sarah Lewis, born in Pembroke, Massachusetts, March 22, 1743, a remarkably exemplary woman; her mother having died while she was quite young, she went to live in the family of her uncle, Rev. John Howland, at Carver, Massachusetts. She was a grand-daughter of Rev. Daniel Lewis, the first minister of Pembroke. Having thus come of good New England stock, and reared under religious influence, when she became the mother of a family of children, she was very devoted to them, and endeavored to inculcate her own principles and those she inherited to her children. She had a mild, even, and peaceful disposition and was a great lover of peace, attentive and orderly in all her domestic affairs, and faithful in giving her family religious instruction, never failing to teach her children from that invaluable manual of Christian doctrine and duty, the "Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism" on the afternoon of every Lord's day, and having them repeat their prayers morning and evening. On Sundays she would never allow them to play or stroll around, always endeavoring to have them attend church-worship. She was very particular to have her children avoid every species of profanity or vulgarity, and always solicitous as to their mannerly conduct in public and private.

In her household affairs neatness and order were particularly noticeable. She was precise and exact in all matters of business, and a person of uncommon memory. She is said to have been very ingenious at needlework.

Having thus, as we have seen, been brought up under the influence of kind Christian parents in a New England home, it would be strange if the son had not imbibed some of the qualities that go to make up a purely good man. In many respects he was a peculiar person. Those who knew him in his youth and early manhood, after he had devoted himself to the cause of Christ, mention as prominent traits, besides a sincere and consistent religious character, decision, earnestness, perseverance, promptness, and punctuality, the two latter being prominent in an eminent degree. Seldom if ever was he known to be absent from the services of the sanctuary upon the Sabbath, and when there he was always alive to all that transpired. The minister was always sure to have one hearer whose keen eye and intelligent countenance sufficiently indicated his powers of appreciation.

He was admitted a member of the Congregational Church in Plympton, October 18, 1807, and was shortly after chosen clerk of the same. At this time the church was without a settled pastor, and the duties of a clerk were quite numerous.

He was elected deacon of the church, April 29, 1814, which position he held till his death. He was always at his post of duty, and his record during the time was clean, for he never used the office for any selfish or designing purpose. The records of the church in his handwriting are a model for clearness, fulness, and correctness, and are worthy of a descendant of the Pilgrims, and are sufficiently well known to require no extended notice.

He loved the church, which was his home, and to his last days ever manifested the deepest interest in everything pertaining to the prosperity and usefulness of the same, of whose fellowship and counsels he had so long become a part.

His Christian character was commended by all his neighbors and acquaintance as of a high order, which was more observable in the purity of his life than in his direct personal appeals to those with whom he was conversing. He never was obtrusive upon the subject of religion, yet never shrank from duty in giving his words of counsel and advice.

Distinguished for his correctness, accuracy, and propriety of conduct in all the relations of life, of the strictest integrity and uprightness, and as a citizen universally respected, he was everywhere received with pleasure and respect.

The personal appearance of Deacon Bradford was that of manly vigor rather than of grace. His physical constitution was uncommonly fine, and his health uniformly good. In stature he was of medium height, with broad shoulders, head slightly stooped, of florid complexion, with a shaven face, and a countenance beaming with intelligence and benignity, that left no doubt which had the preponderance. His habits were simple, and his manners an index to his heart. He wore a homespun costume, with a careless trim, — for he was not a devotee of the toilet, — and might have been taken for a farmer rather than a student; his disposition was social, while he had dignity and gravity becoming his position, never fond of jesting. He affected no airs, made no pretensions, and produced no decided impression other than that of an "Israelite in whom was no guile."

The cause of education was a subject in which he ever, from his childhood, had a deep interest. His youthful days were spent amid rural scenes in his native town where his father and grandfather had lived, and he was reared in the days when the advantages of learning were exceedingly limited. There were then no Normal Schools, in which teachers were fitted for the duties of their calling, and no high schools. Only the common elementary branches were taught, and those who wished to study the languages received instruction from the minister of the parish or other qualified person. Deacon Bradford received his early education in his native district, and was engaged in teaching schools during the winter seasons, from 1788 to 1820, and in the summers of 1796–1798 and 1802 he taught in the District of Maine. During the time he was engaged as teacher he was attending somewhat to the study of Latin and Greek under the instruction of and in the private study of his pastor, the Rev. Ezra Sampson.

His interest in the schools of Plympton never abated even in old age. He was always regular in his visits to the different district schools, and as regular to give the scholars wholesome advice upon "good manners," of the duty of becoming good citizens, avoiding profanity, and other equally moral advice. Many persons now living remember his criticisms on the examples he would give out to the scholars in mathematics, and the incorrect sentences he would offer for correction from a carefully prepared memorandum, given for the purpose of testing the knowledge of the scholars, and the kind, happy, and courteous manner with which he addressed them, and his words of approbation at the conclusion of the exercises.

He always cherished a tender regard for the young, and felt it to be a part of his duty to see to their mental as well as spiritual instruction, and was hardly ever absent from the examination exercises at the close of the school session.

He always had a passion for books, and was always engaged in study of some kind, or in writing. He never sought for public office, although he never shrank from whatever he considered to be his duty. He was for a long time identified with the municipal affairs of his town. He was elected town clerk of Plympton, March 9, 1812, and annually chosen till his death. Of his faithfulness to the town during a period of thirty-nine years much might be said. He not only kept a correct record of the doings in town-meeting, but he gathered from various sources by his personal effort many facts and incidents which long ere this would have slept in obscurity, and would never have been handed down to posterity but for his loving care.

Besides the annual proceedings he recorded much of historical interest, the value of which and the usefulness to those who are inquiring for facts with which to make history cannot be estimated. We never have had the pleasure of examining any town records so full of personal history and detail of families as is recorded in the books which Deacon Bradford left to his native town. They are indeed a monument of the most enduring kind to his memory.

We regret that his daily records of events did not pass into the archives of the town, or fall into the hands of some person interested in historical matters, where they would have served as valuable aids to students of history instead of occupying an obscure and useless position where they have been stored for nearly thirty years.

In everything Deacon Bradford did, he had method, whether it was of little or much importance. If a person died he would give the name in full, date of death, and the particulars of his sickness and place of burial, of the funeral services and when he was buried, with reliable accuracy; and it has been said that "when Deacon Lewis Bradford could not tell the date of any occurrence in his town and vicinity there was no use in inquiring further." So accurate was he that he would work for days over a small matter, and was never satisfied till he had accomplished his object.

He was elected a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, May 12, 1846.

In the years 1812, 1813, and 1817, he was elected assessor of the town. On the re-organizing of the town as a parish, April 16, 1827, he was chosen clerk, and was annually rechosen till his death. He was also an assessor of the parish in 1830. On the formation of the Foreign Missionary Society of Plympton and vicinity, March 29, 1814, he was chosen secretary till the same ceased to exist, April 7, 1825, and when a new organization was formed May 8, 1825, he was chosen secretary. He was secretary of the Plympton Sabbath school, from its first formation, July 26, 1818, till his death.

During the years 1842, 1843, and 1844 he represented the town of Plympton in the Massachusetts Legislature, and while there he commanded the respect of all the members, as he was one of the oldest present; and as a mark of their esteem and friendship, and for his promptness, the Whig members presented him with a gold-headed cane.*

The following article is from the late Hon. William Schouler, who knew Deacon Bradford well, and was with him side by side during the above years in the Legislature: —

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* As the cane passed with his personal effects to the administrator of the estate, and as we have never had the pleasure of seeing it, we have no further particulars in reference to the presentation.

> " Old Deacon Bradford, whose sudden and melancholy death is here recorded, was a very worthy and at the same time quite an eccentric person. He was, we believe, a bachelor, and had many of the peculiarities of that unfortunate portion of our fellow-citizens. We had the honor of sitting side by side one session in the Legislature with Deacon Bradford, and we always found him provided with needle and thread, beeswax and thimble, to stitch up rents in his clothes or put on a new button, and he had the queerest old snuff-box and spectacle-case imaginable. The town books of Plympton as kept by Mr. Bradford are faithful chronicles of the times. The votes of the town and the names of the candidates are not only recorded there, but the politics are given, and the opinion of the clerk is also given as to their fitness for office. In the election case which came before the election committee last year Mr. Bradford was summoned as witness, and his books were brought up also. We had a good opportunity of examining them, and they were in many particulars remarkable. If every town in the Commonwealth had its records as well kept, the researches of future historians would be greatly restricted and be much less laborious. Deacon Bradford was a man of sterling integrity and a most devout Christian. In the celebrated session of 1843 Mr. Bradford was a member from the town of Plympton, and for his promptness and attention to his duties the Whig members presented him with a beautiful walking-stick. He has now passed away, and although his warning was brief he was doubtless well prepared for the summons."

He died August 10, 1851, in the following manner: He had attended church service in the forenoon of the Sabbath, and officiated at the communion service during the intermission between the two church meetings, and at its close stepped into the carriage of William Taylor to ride home with him, when the horse started suddenly, throwing Deacon Bradford out of the carriage to the ground, breaking his neck. A gathering of people immediately went to his assistance, and a physician was called, who examined him and found the result as stated. He breathed but a short time only.

We cannot better close this article than by adding the personal recollections of one who was born in the same town, and knew Deacon Bradford well through his youthful life, and whose father was his esteemed friend and pastor: —

Reminiscences of Lewis Bradford by the Rev. Henry M. Dexter.

My earliest recollections of good Deacon Lewis Bradford recall him substantially as he was when I last remember him. I suppose he must once have been young, like other people, but there was never anything about him in my time to suggest that he had not been born when he was old. His figure was bowed. His hair was scant, so that in cold draughts he wore a velvet skullcap. His style of dress was that of a former day, especially the ample coat with its broad skirts holding unfathomable pockets, in whose capacious depths were stowed many things which few beside him would have thought it needful to carry. I remember vague statements that early disappointments and losses of one kind and another had saddened and made him odd, until old-bachelorhood finished the uniqueness of his development.

He was certainly, beyond almost any man whom I have ever known, a creature of habit; treading day by day and week by week the few simple paths which his unwearied feet had made. As surely, for example, as the "first bell" on Sabbath morning announced that in another hour service would be held in the house of God, in about so many minutes after its last clanging stroke had died upon the air, the side door of my father's house would open to his deliberate touch, and the venerable deacon would enter for his Sunday-morning call. My father at that hour was seldom visible, being engaged in his humble library in devotional preparation for the service of the day, but my stepmother would welcome him as he came bowing in. Laying his hat and a checked bundle — by which I mean a parcel tied in a large checked pocket-handkerchief, which was his invariable companion — upon the table, he would walk up toward a high old-fashioned mahogany-cased brass clock, which still rings out the hours in my hall, and which ticked uncommonly loud in the Sabbath stillness, and pulling out his own venerable bull's-eye from its capacious fob, would ask his stereotyped question, as he compared the two: "Do you think, Mrs. Dexter, that your clock is about right this morning?" Then, seating himself, after a preliminary "hem" or two, he usually inquired whether, as a matter of fact, my father had in person attended all the evening meetings which had been appointed during the previous week. Her answers were made matter of record. In fact, almost everything was made matter of record with him. He occupied a large portion of his time in keeping a daily journal, in which was written down, with singular particularity, the various happenings of each succeeding day. At church he usually occupied a gallery pew, which he had all to himself, and his first move after entering it would always be to untie his faithful bundle, and lay at convenient places for ready reference its various contents. With an inkstand, pens, and pencils, among these I think were always a Bible and hymn-book, a "Town Officer" — in case any legal question should happen along involving his duty, or that of another, in town affairs, — the current volume of his diary, and several cards arranged beforehand for handy use in taking notes. One of these cards, as I remember, had the days of the week written in ink at the beginning of lines. These he would fill out in pencil with the appointments of neighborhood service, &c., for the week, to be afterwards erased when entered in his journal, leaving the card clean for the next Sunday's use. From his minute memoranda I remember that he was able to tell with positive exactness how many times my father officiated in his own pulpit during his forty years' ministry, how many times and with whom he had exchanged pulpits, how many prayer-meetings he had attended, how many lectures he had preached, how many children he had baptized, how many weddings and funerals he had solemnized, and from what texts he had discoursed. Little by little it had grown to be the great business of the deacon's life to be a chronicler. He was town clerk for I know not how many years, and left behind him records in his large copperplate hand, which are good for weak eyes. He was church clerk as well. One of the last incidents which I recall was one that pleased him much in this connection. In my first visit to England, in 1851, I had searched out the Austerfield home of the Bradford family, and had discovered at Harworth, four or five miles away, the tombstones of two Bradfords, whose Christian names now escape me, who had each been "the much respected clerk of this parish" for a long period of years. I suggested to my honored friend, on my return, that it seemed to run in the family to serve the world in that way, which he accepted as a great compliment.

As illustrating how utterly simple-minded he was, and how differently his mind worked from the common New England mind, as well as how excessively methodical he had become, two anecdotes occur to me as having been told in our family, when I was a little fellow, concerning him. Both incidents, as I understood, took place during the lifetime of my own mother, and long before my recollection. I should premise them by saying that, as a consequence of early misfortune, Deacon Bradford had lost whatever patrimony might have been his, and being really without any trade, or art, or means of livelihood, had been adopted by the town as a sort of trusted and venerated citizen-at-large, and, as was said of schoolmasters then, "boarded around," being entertained for a few weeks at one house and a few weeks at another, as mutual convenience might dictate; everybody whose domestic circumstances would permit being glad now and then to welcome the common guest. He was always anxious to do what he could by way of return for this universal hospitality. Staying thus for a few weeks at my father's house, in my father's absence, on one occasion, he undertook to milk the cow. My mother's solicitude became excited at his long absence, when he suddenly entered the house, his watch in one hand and the not over-full milk-pail in the other, saying, "Mrs. Dexter, I have milked your cow twenty-seven minutes by the watch, and if you do not think I have milked long enough I will go out again and milk longer!"

At another time he undertook to hoe some beans. Spending some considerable preliminary time in the woodshed, he was noticed to have filled one of the capacious pockets of his coat with a large number of small sticks of pine of the size of an ordinary lead-pencil, and some curiosity being felt as to the relation of these to the work in hand, he was subsequently observed to pull out one of these every time he rounded out a fresh hill, stick it into the little mound, and then, pulling it out, transfer it to the other coat-pocket. When his work was done he counted these earth-soiled sticks, and entered in his journal for the day the fact that he had hoed that number of hills of beans!

While these and similar whimsicalities were true of him, it was yet also true that Deacon Bradford was nobody's fool. He was well read in the Scriptures, in the formularies of New England doctrine, and in the early history of the Old Colony. From his natural taste for details, his microscopic accuracy, and the habit he had of using his large opportunities, he became an accomplished genealogist, and I judge that at his death few were living who knew so much in detail the family history of Plymouth County and its vicinity.

His voluminous journals contain, with unquestionable rubbish, possibly sometimes in portentous quantities, an immense number of valuable facts bearing upon the family records which he knew and loved so well. While living for so long a period of time here and there over town, he had always a sort of central home and rendezvous for his chattels in the attic of William H. Soule, Esq., for a great while the postmaster of Plympton. I suppose that these manuscript treasures still are housed under that same roof, and are in the charge of Mr. William S. Soule, the son, who has succeeded to his father's property. Perhaps I may properly say that it is understood to be the intention of this gentleman, so soon as he can take time to separate from the mass certain papers of a different character, to place them for safe-keeping in some fire-proof library in Boston, where, under proper restriction, these records may be freely consulted by students of New England history.

On my request, my venerable friend had promised to leave these all to me in his will; but, in the providence of God, he was taken suddenly away, when he thought not of it, and his purpose, unfortunately for me, remained unfulfilled.

The religious character of such a man must inevitably be largely shaped and controlled in its manifestation by his natural peculiarities. Deacon Bradford was as methodical in his religion as in everything else. A Pilgrim of the Pilgrims, he yet had a little liturgy of his own, which — I cannot declare that it was ever written and committed to memory, yet I presume it must have been — was the form of sound words in which he led the devotions of the sanctuary, or the prayer-meeting. There was another form into which he fell in family devotion. This latter contained a special invocation of blessings upon all who "dwell under this roof," the last word being sounded so as to rhyme with "tough." I shall never forget what perplexity confused and nearly overcame the supplicant on one occasion when — my father being ill and a "deacon's meeting" occupying the place of the usual church service of the Sabbath — Deacon Bradford, when called to lead in prayer, by accident substituted for the public the more private form above hinted, and proceeded without let or hindrance therein until the above phrase suddenly staggered him by its violent unreason.

Faithful, honest, humble, kind-hearted, reverential, and useful, according to his gift and opportunity, Lewis Bradford deserves a better memorial than I can rear for him with the point of a pen. To have done as little hurt and as much good as he did is not to have lived in vain!

LEVI WOODBURY

Levi Woodbury was born in Francestown, New Hampshire, December 2, 1789. His father, the Hon. Peter Woodbury, had settled there in his youth, and became a successful merchant and farmer. For thirty years he was a justice of the peace and quorum for the county, which he also represented in the State Senate. The family were descendants of John Woodbury, who settled at Cape Ann in 1623–24, and afterwards removed to and was one of the "Old Planters," first settlers at Naumkeag, now Salem, in 1627, before the Great Council of Plymouth had granted "the Massachusetts" to the associates who subsequently became the Massachusetts Bay Company.

After the chartering of that corporation and its removal to "the Massachusetts" he was early made a freeman of the corporation, and held various offices of local importance, and several times represented Salem in the General Court. He died in 1641. His descendants lived in Beverly (formerly part of Salem) on lands granted to their ancestor, part of which have continued in an unbroken male line to their present occupants. Since its first settlement they have been a numerous, substantial, and valued part of the population.

A correct statement of the male descent of the subject of our memoir is briefly: John[1] Woodbury; his youngest son, Peter,[2] baptized 19.2 mo., 1640; his son Josiah,[3] born June 15, 1682; his son Josiah,[4] born

February 15, 1708; his son Peter,[5] born March 28, 1738; his son Peter,[6] born January 17, 1767, who married Mary Woodbury. These were the parents of Levi. Mary, his mother, was descended from Peter,[2] through his son Peter,[3] born 1664, whose son Peter,[4] born 1705, was father of James,[5] born 1738, who was the father of Mary Woodbury. Both the grandfathers of Levi had served at Lake George in the French war, and James was one of the provincial rangers who were with Wolfe at the capture of Quebec. In 1773 Peter[5] removed from Beverly, Massachusetts, to Amherst, New Hampshire, and settled in what is now Mount Vernon. James W.[5] moved there soon after the Revolution. Peter Woodbury of Amherst was an ardent rebel; his name, in 1775, is fifth on the list of those of that town who pledged to resist with arms and fortune the encroachment of the British Parliament on colonial liberty; and on the breaking out of the war, he was a member of the legislature which framed the first constitution for New Hampshire.

The subject of this notice was the second of ten children born to his parents, and was named after an uncle who had been captured in the privateer "Essex," and died in prison, in England, near the close of the revolutionary war.

The scenery of his native place, its pleasant ponds, lofty mountains, and fair landscapes, gave an early bent to that love of the mountains, lakes, and valleys of his native State which endured to the end.

As a boy he was an ardent student. The influences of the home-life that contributed to shape his character are described by ex-President Pierce. "I must pay a tribute to the memory of his stern, but most just and noble father, admired, I remember, by his neighbors for his sound sense, his frankness, and generosity. But his mother's care and his mother's kindness, perhaps, most impressed themselves upon my young heart; of the latter I had occasion to speak publicly within a few months in the presence of this distinguished and cherished son."

In due time he entered Dartmouth College, where he pursued his studies with distinction. In 1809 he was graduated, and entered on the study of law. A portion of his time was under Judge Gould at the Law School in Litchfield, Connecticut, and for some time in Boston, under the direction of the Hon. Samuel Dana, and then under Judge Jeremiah Smith, at Exeter, New Hampshire. He began the practice of the law at Francestown, New Hampshire, in September, 1813.

Whilst a student at law he had given evidence of promise as an orator and by speeches at various war-meetings in his native county, public orations, and resolutions. No young man in New Hampshire ever commanded, in his first year at the bar, a better practice. He escaped the weary waiting for business so many clever men have endured, and year by year his increasing capacities found accumulating labors imposed on them; but he was not of those who shrink from work.

The politics of the State found a novel theme in the disputes which arose between the trustees and the president of Dartmouth College. The old Republican party espoused the side of Dr. Wheelock (who had been removed by the trustees), and threatened to reorganize the charter; their opponents sided with the trustees. Governor Plumer and a Republican legislature were elected in 1816. On the organization of the legislature, Mr. Woodbury was elected clerk of the Senate. This legislature enacted a new charter for Dartmouth College, enlarging the Board of Trustees and also creating a Board of Overseers. Mr. Woodbury was appointed one of the new trustees. These statutes were the occasion of the Dartmouth College case, the leading case in the Supreme Court of the United States on the point of how far the creation of a corporation is a contract within the Constitution of the United States, — not less decisive of principle because the validity of the original charter was admitted in the pleadings.

In the course of the same year Mr. Woodbury was appointed one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. The youth of Mr. Woodbury occasioned comment by the opposite party, scarcely to their own advantage, as the manner in which he executed his office won the approbation of the public. During his service on the bench, in conjunction with Chief Justice Richardson, he prepared the first three volumes of the New Hampshire Reports for publication. These reports have always stood high with the profession.

His judicial duties extended into every county of the State, and in those ante-railroad days a judge usually travelled the circuit with his own horse and chaise. The appreciation of a roadster and resource against the monotony of the road commanded judicial attention. He loved the scenery of his native State; her hills were so familiar that, in any part of the State, on rising ground, he could name at once every peak within the range of vision. His fondness for botany and mineralogy was gratified by combining it with his necessary travelling of the circuit; his leathern bag and stone hammer were inseparable companions in his chaise. Few, indeed, of the plants of the valleys or hills had escaped his vigilant eyes. He knew every spring of superior water on his whole line of travel, and had visited every pond and lake that could conveniently be reached. The time taken in riding his circuit was improved as far as he could devise. In 1819 he was married to Miss Eliza W. Clapp, daughter of the Hon. Asa Clapp of Portland, Maine, and removed to Portsmouth, the old provincial capital of the State, then, as now, renowned for the hospitality and liberal culture of its society. His residence, surrounded by its small farm, was one of the attractive points in the suburbs.

In 1822 Democratic dissatisfaction at the party nomination for governor broke out, and in the winter, at a county court-meeting in Portsmouth, he was nominated for governor in opposition, by the dissatisfied. All the elements of opposition united on him, and March, 1823, he was elected by a large majority. In the town of his residence the vote stood

Levi Woodbury	900
All others	34

In June he resigned from the bench and was inaugurated governor. His public career began. The limits of this sketch will allow only brief references to the public questions with which his fame became connected. His inaugural address declared, as to the great principles of the government: "Among the most sacred of those principles, my education and political faith have always led me to rank the general diffusion of knowledge, equality of rights, liberty of conscience, and a strict accountability of all public servants." And it concluded by avowing his determination to imitate the judicious example of his immediate predecessors in their general course of administration and their conciliatory deportment toward the different sections, sects, parties, and interests of the State; avowing that "liberality, when it can be indulged with no sacrifice of principle, proves the great source of harmony and strength in popular governments;" and cited Jefferson, that as "every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle," it becomes "the duty of all citizens to unite in common efforts for the common good." His administration was in accord with Jeffersonian principles, and a long public career was simply a development of the policy announced in his message.

In 1823 the New Hampshire Historical Society was formed, his friend Governor Plumer being its first president, and Governor Woodbury its first vice-president.

In 1825 Governor Woodbury was elected president; from its beginning to his death he took great interest in its objects and contributed not a little to its success. In 1824 the Federal party ran a candidate of its own; there were consequently three candidates in the field, and no choice of a governor was made by the people. In the legislature Governor Woodbury was defeated, and returned to the practice of his profession at Portsmouth.

The bar of the State, at this time, was still remarkable for ability and acumen; and among such compeers as Mason and Bartlett and Cutts, Judge Smith, Sullivan, and himself the palm was to be contended for. The court-houses of New Hampshire in that day had become intellectual arenas, whose traditions every son of the Granite State recalls with pride. The weapons of law, logic, and eloquence were wielded by master hands, and the delighted yeomanry swarmed from every part of their respective counties to whet their own native keenness by the bright examples of their favorite forensic leaders.

In 1825 he was elected to the legislature from Portsmouth, and at the organization of that body was elected Speaker of the House. Before the session closed he was elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat the ensuing December at Washington.

The contest of 1824 for the Presidency had terminated in the election of John Quincy Adams, all of the candidates having been nominally Republicans; but the overslaughing of General Jackson, who had the largest popular vote, by the House, and the concentration of Mr. Clay's friends in that body on Mr. Adams, had excited popular prejudice, which the doctrines avowed by Mr. Adams in his inaugural, and afterwards in his first message, fomented into hostility to his administration. The greater body of the old Republicans arrayed themselves in opposition to his measures, and party lines, which in "the era of universal good feeling," during Mr. Munroe's administration, had been very slack, now became taut. They said, Mr. Adams's constitutional views were lax and unrepublican, and the Panama Mission scheme was concocted at Washington, and was a violation of Washington's injunction to avoid entangling alliances with foreign nations.

Great historic names were still in the Senate: John Taylor of Carolina; Nat Macon had known and participated in politics in Washington's administration; John Randolph of Roanoke; Littleton W. Tazewell, and many whose names have since become historic. The young senator from New Hampshire, among the Gamaliels of the Jeffersonian school, sat an attentive observer, but by no means inert. His industry was concentrated on the duties of his position. Every political question of prominence he studied. In the discussion of the measures where the opposition defined its conflict with the policy of the administration, he proved a valued ally. It was John Randolph of Roanoke who called him "the rock of the New England Democracy." His speeches on the relief of the surviving officers of the Revolution and against enlarging the number of judges of the Supreme Court, those on the repeal of the duty on salt, and on the Panama Mission, may be cited as specimens of the exhaustive examinations he gave every measure of importance.

After success had crowned this struggle, and General Jackson was inaugurated, the Democrats had to prove the quality of their statesmanship for the practical and responsible administration of affairs. Each party mustered in the Senate men of marked ability. Mr. Woodbury's speeches in favor of extending the sales of public lands, the counter-proposition to Foote's resolution, and another on the survey and sale of public lands, showed the grasp of his mind and his convictions in favor of the Democratic principles of government. In these speeches he vindicated the constitutional character of the party, and applied to the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of '98 the same ground of construction which General Jackson afterwards put upon them in opposition to the nullification theorizers, and which Mr. Madison and Mr. Ritchie claimed for them. He also made that vigorous and comprehensive defence of the Democracy of New England against the charges of the followers of the "Five-barred flag of the Hartford Convention," and of the Republicans who had followed Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay into the hostile camp, which endeared him to the Democracy of New England, and showed his opponents that his courteous and dignified forbearance from mingling personalities in debate did not arise from any imperfection of power to use weapons of incisive bitterness when duty or self-respect required it. It was in the latter of these speeches that he uttered that sentence in regard to the Democrats of New England which the Democracy of the Union adopted as the sentiment of their creed. "They mean to go where Democratic principles go, and when these principles disappear, they mean to halt."

Other national questions were pressing. Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay had embroiled the negotiations for opening a reciprocal free trade with the British West Indies and South America, and we alone of foreign nations were excluded from its privileges. In the debates on this subject Mr. Woodbury represented the then important navigation interests in the East with great judgment, and aided in removing embarrassments and in shaping the legislation to promote this valuable extension of our commerce. It was General Jackson's good fortune, with the help of the Act of 1830, to secure this valuable liberty to our navigation. Mr. Woodbury, on his entry into the Senate, had been placed on the Committee on Commerce, and for the last four years of his term was its chairman. In this position he rendered useful service in endeavors to modify those retaliatory, discriminating, and tonnage duties which, palsying the energies of our merchants, shipbuilders, and mariners, were narrowing the outlet for the products of our agriculture, forests, and fisheries.

He was among the advocates for low duties on the necessaries of life, and though no enemy of strictly incidental protection to manufactures, was radically opposed to such excesses of protection on them as would compel heavy taxation on the people's salt, sugar, tea, coffee, and molasses, for purposes of revenue. His speech, on his own motion to reduce the duties on salt, was a comprehensive and clear showing of the ill effects of the heavy tax on the farmers and the fisheries, and contributed to the success that attended the motion.

On March 4, 1831, his term ended, and he was succeeded by the Hon. Isaac Hill, another stanch friend of General Jackson. Within a few days afterwards he was elected to the State senate. General Jackson, soon after his inauguration, had offered him the mission to Spain, which, after consultation with his friends, he respectfully declined.

The political rivalry between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Van Buren and the feud that grew up between the former and General Jackson resulted in May in the breaking up of the first cabinet of the President, and his organization of a new one. General Jackson invited Mr. Woodbury to take the portfolio of the Navy Department; the invitation was accepted.

Having been several years on the Naval Committee in the Senate, he was not unprepared for the post he assumed. He immediately made himself carefully acquainted with the condition of every division of the department, even personally visiting and examining every navy-yard, including Pensacola. In June he published an order permitting the seamen, at their volition, to commute the spirit ration and receive money instead, which was an important encouragement of temperate habits among them. He collected and revised the navy regulations, and restrained the power of subordinate officers to inflict punishment on the sailors.

Under his industry the efficiency of the organization advanced and the activity of the service increased. He endeavored to employ our vessels afloat in useful undertakings. Malay pirates had cut off the ship "Friendship" of Salem, and massacred her crew. He despatched Commodore John Downes with the frigate "Potomac"; and the prompt punishment Downes administered at Quallah Battoo taught a lesson throughout those seas the effect of which has not yet passed away. At the suggestion of Mr. Woodbury the mission of Edmund Roberts, Esq., to open commercial treaties at Zanzibar with Muscat and at Siam was organized and despatched in a sloop of war, resulting in a large extension of the field of American commerce. Wherever the security of our commerce or the respect for our flag would be promoted by the sight of our navy, his policy was to send armed cruisers to afford ocular demonstration in the most distant, as well as in the nearest seas, of our ability to support and protect our merchant-flag with the best of guns and men, mounted on ships whose strength and speed were as imposing as the discipline of their crews. Many independent commands, testing the merits of officers, were consequent on the activity he exacted of the service. He anticipated the future by recommending the formation of a steam marine. He also made a report on the supply of live oak, which was highly appreciated. In the detail of officers for service he established rules for the uniformity of their treatment and the prevention of favoritism. Always ready to listen to any suggestions for the growth of the service, and to redress wrongs as well as to sustain the faithful, his administration of the department was eminently successful in improving its methods of business as well as the effectiveness of its material.

At his recommendation the Survey of the Coast was reorganized in 1832, with a sufficient scientific corps; and the practical foundations on which this great work of utility and science have since stood were permanently established under his supervision.

When some irate merchants, in the heat of the discussion of nullification as a constitutional remedy, threatened to resist forcibly the levy of duties on some expected cargoes of sugar, by the orders of the Secretary a few men-of-war, detached from various stations, promptly rendezvoused at Charleston. The energy with which General Jackson prepared to do his duty to the supremacy of the laws in the Union, the firm support Congress gave him in the "Force Bill," and the magnanimity of Clay, Grundy, and Wright, and statesmen of both parties in arranging the compromise measures, — not without serious opposition, — averted from South Carolina any disagreeable necessity of testing by domestic violence the theory of the peaceful remedy of nullification as distinguished from secession.

General Jackson, had from his accession to office, avowed himself hostile to any recharter of the United States Bank; but the bank, confident in its money power, petitioned for recharter four years before the existing charter expired, and the Houses of Congress passed to be enacted the grant of a new charter, which, however, on July 10, 1832, General Jackson promptly vetoed, declaring the bank to be, in his opinion, both inexpedient and unconstitutional, and announcing his firm determination never to sanction by his approval the continuance of that institution, or the establishment of any other upon similar principles. On this issue, in the fall of 1832, he was triumphantly re-elected. The bank was disposed to continue its struggle for a further charter. In the fall of 1833 Mr. Taney, then Secretary of the Treasury, removed the deposits of the Government from the bank, or, more strictly speaking, ceased to make further deposits of accruing revenue therein, and opened deposit accounts in State banks. A political and commercial storm followed which is too well-known to require restating. The Senate rejected Mr. Taney's nomination, and in July, 1834, Mr. Woodbury was nominated, and by and with the consent of the Senate was appointed as Secretary of the Treasury

The political issues of the day revolved on the management of the Treasury. All the elements of opposition to General Jackson's administration combined for the attack: on their side, recharters of the bank and a return of the deposits were pressed, accompanied by the intimidating prophecies of panic, ruin, and national discredit. On the administration side the "Gold Bill" and other measures to strengthen the specie basis of the business of the country, and the aid of the State banks as depositaries was successfully relied upon. The national debt was extinguished by payment in full, and the Secretary of the Treasury had the right to engrave on his official escutcheon this gratifying fact, with the consciousness that no other Treasury Department in modern times had accomplished a like feat, and the probability that no succeeding secretary ever will. The revenues were large, unexpectedly so, from public land. The existence of the compromise tariff restricted the reduction of imposts, and money accumulated in the Treasury. Congress improvidently disposed of these accumulations by directing that they should be withdrawn from the banks, where they reinforced the business currency of the country, and be deposited with the States. This measure compelled the banks to withdraw their credits, call in their loans, and answer the Treasury drafts for transfer with a rapidity that shook the credit system, created a stringency; and then, before the transferred money could resume its office in the active circulation of the country followed a panic, and in May, 1837, the banks of the country suspended specie payments, and a business crash ensued. At the close of General Jackson's administration (March 3, 1837), Mr. Woodbury had tendered his resignation to the succeeding President, Mr. Van Buren, who had declined to receive it, and requested him to remain in the office.

Our readers will derive the best view our limits admit of the administration of the Treasury by Mr. Woodbury, by reading the following extract from the eulogy which was pronounced over his remains by the Hon. Robert Rantoul, Jr., of Massachusetts, himself a statesman, a participator in the discussions of the questions, and a friend of Mr. Woodbury.

"Time would fail me to do more than to enumerate, and that but imperfectly, the services which he had the honor to render to his country in this situation. The history of the management of the Treasury Department for the next six years would form a very large part, perhaps I may say the most important part, of the history of the national government during that period. His official reports furnish authentic material for that history, but I can hardly pause even to sketch it now.

"The public funds were placed in thirteen banks selected by the secretary; wise precautions were adopted, and prudent regulations prescribed for their safe keeping, and convenient and prompt transfer and disbursement, as occasion might require. The national debt was paid off, — a fact which no other government of modern times ever yet had the good fortune to be able to announce to the toiling millions upon whose industry such a debt is a burden. That such an announcement could be made with truth, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, is of itself a broad distinction between the government of the United States and those of all the other great powers of Christendom.

"The entire reorganization of the department was recommended; and many of the suggestions to this effect, unheeded when made, have since then borne their fruit.

"The warehousing system was advocated, for the reasons which afterwards occasioned its adoption and have made its operation so beneficial and satisfactory.

"His Report on Cotton is the only adequate collection of reliable statistics on that interesting subject. This document ascertains, as exactly as the case admits, the growth and progress of a vital element of the agriculture of the South and of the commerce and manufactories of the North, — a substance which employs more shipping in its transportation than subserved the wants of the whole Roman empire in the time of Trajan, and which sets in motion, in its manufacture, in the island of Great Britain alone, more complicated machinery than the world possessed when George the Third ascended the throne of Great Britain and America.

"While he was absorbed in these multifarious labors, a storm was gathering and ready to burst upon the country. The contraction of August, 1833, had been but a temporary check in the expansion of the seven years previous to May, 1837; after which check the United States bank, the deposit banks, and all other banks expanded, like the recoil of a spring when the weight is removed. During these seven years, bank accommodations were increased one hundred and sixty per cent; the commerce of the country was more than doubled; and in three years only, seventy per cent was added to the price of cotton, and eighty per cent to the price of flour. Such a sudden change generated speculation in every conceivable form, a result noticeable more particularly in the sales of public lands, which rose from their ordinary average of about a million and a half of dollars, to about sixteen millions in 1835, and twenty-five millions in 1836. There seemed to be, in the nature of things, no sufficient reason why this progress might not go on indefinitely, like the Dutch speculation in tulip-roots, until it reached the unknown limits of human credulity. The receipts of the Government, which had risen from twenty-one millions in 1834, to forty-eight millions in 1836, were loaned out, as soon as received, to stimulate still more extravagant purchases, and be returned to the Treasury only to be issued again, and perform incessantly the same vicious circle.

"To counteract this tendency the Specie Circular was issued, by which the agents of the Treasury were forbidden to receive paper in exchange for land. Those who were engaged in appropriating the national domain to themselves, by means of paper borrowed many times over from the national Treasury, answered with discordant outcries of rage this necessary order, as if some terrible injustice had been perpetrated against them. The immediate reduction of the land sales within more reasonable limits witnessed the salutary effect of the Treasury circular.

"The banks holding the public deposits were emphatically warned that the inevitable reaction was rapidly approaching, they were urged to provide themselves largely with specie, and to take in sail before the first squall should strike them. The coming tornado, which must bring down with a great crash the unsubstantial fabric of a baseless credit, was predicted again and again; but in vain.

"While speculation was at its height, the act was passed changing the deposits of the public moneys, embarrassing seriously all borrowers, and preparing the way for general bankruptcy when the contraction would come.

"At last the long-foretold contraction came. It grew daily more and more stringent; and then followed that more disastrous blow at the credit of the commercial classes,—the distribution of the surplus revenue. Eighteen millions of dollars were removed in about three months, and nine millions more on the first of July, 1837, making in all twenty-seven millions withdrawn from the channels of business, and scattered to every part of the Union, by the votes of the same gentlemen who had taught their followers to believe that the removal of two and a half millions of dollars, between the months of August and December, 1833, from one side of the street to the other, was sufficient to convulse the whole commerce of the nation, and paralyze everywhere the arm of industry.

"Against the Deposit Act and the Surplus Distribution Act Mr. Woodbury remonstrated faithfully. He showed, with mathematical certainty and precision, the nature and extent of the mischiefs that must ensue. The opposition, including mostly the classes that were to suffer by the shock, took no heed of the friendly warning; his words passed by them like the idle wind.

"In its appointed time the crash came. The second instalment of nine millions of the distribution, paid in April, produced its natural and anticipated effect, — the failure of the banks throughout the Union in the month of May.

"With the dismal spectacle of the scattered wrecks of broken corporations around him, the wary pilot weathered the storm. The banks had gone down together in the hurricane which he foretold, but the Treasury did not go down, as the orators of the opposition had prophesied, and no doubt believed, that it inevitably must. The public credit was maintained without the aid, almost in defiance of, the moneyed classes.

"Not a draft was protested; not in any single instance was payment of specie refused to the national creditor lawfully demanding it. The unsullied faith of the national guaranty rose benignantly over the universal desolation, like the brazen serpent lifted up of old in the wilderness, imparting courage to the sinking heart, holding out one bright vision of hope when all else was darkness and despair.

"Perhaps no other man in the United States could have surmounted the obstacles which Mr. Woodbury overcame in the administration of the Treasury Department through this eventful period. The bankruptcy of the institutions with which Congress had ordered the public funds to be deposited; the impossibility of collecting the bonds of merchants given for duties on imports; the necessity of successive payments, nine millions at a time, under the act directed to be deposited with the several States, in a few months' time, revenue enough to have defrayed the ordinary expenses of the Government for two years; the prospect that a stagnation of commerce would ensue, and cut off all supplies derived through the medium of the custom houses, — here was a combination of difficulties enough to appal the stoutest heart.

"No man unfamiliar with the extent, variety, and complication of the financial affairs of a great nation, — no man not intimately acquainted, from personal observation, with the circumstances in which our Government then found itself, can possibly conceive the labor, the perplexities, the incessant watchfulness, the interminable correspondence, which the monetary chaos, on which the department was compelled to operate, devolved upon the Secretary. No other Government in the world concentrates on the head of that department such a mass of various, important, and incongruous duties. In the department of Great Britain, the political relations of the Treasury, which are the proper functions of a cabinet minister, are separated from administrative details; and at least nine responsible officers divide among themselves the business of our Secretary. Under such a burden the athletic constitution of Crawford had broken down; and fortunate was it for our country, thrice fortunate for the world, — for the dishonor of our exchequer would have been a world-wide calamity, and would have disheartened the friends of free institutions everywhere, — that the burthen rested at such a time

" 'On Atlantean shoulders, fit to bear
The weight of mightiest emergencies.'

"The administration of the finances of other nations, and of our own until the suspension of specie payment by the banks, had been conducted on a plan and by certain fixed rules, which had been deliberately settled and adopted, or which had gradually grown up as experience indicated their necessity. The laws forbade the Government to receive the dishonored paper of the suspended banks, or to employ them as agents; and a new plan and new rules, suited to new exigencies, were to be extemporized and put in operation on the instant. Revenues were to be collected, kept, and disbursed in specie, at the moment when specie had disappeared from circulation.

"This task, with all its seemingly insuperable difficulties, he undertook and accomplished; and he was peculiarly fitted to accomplish it. The equanimity of his temperament enabled him to bear without discomposure the disappointments and anxieties that every day brought with it, and to pursue steadily, with a fidelity and assiduity that knew no bounds but the limit of physical endurance, the great object of preserving the national credit; and the success which crowned his labors, he accepted as a sufficient reward.

"The assaults made upon him by the combined talent of the opposition, perpetually renewed, and fiercer and more embittered as they were felt to be unavailing, though they rendered more arduous his Herculean labors, never for an instant swerved him from the fixed purpose of his soul, conscious that he stood on the impregnable basis of truth and right.

" 'The man resolved and steady to his trust,
Inflexible to ill, and obstinately just,
Like Teneriffe or Atlas, unremoved,
The stubborn temper of his spirit proved.
Should the whole frame of nature round him break,
In ruin and confusion hurled,
He, unconcerned, would view the mighty wreck,
And stand secure amid a falling world.'

"But it was only the world of sophistries and fallacies that was passing to ruin with a great noise. The world of realities remained, disencumbered at last of the rubbish which misrule and quackery had accumulated and which was swept away forever in the blast of this memorable controversy.

"After the public funds ceased to be used to increase the natural fluctuations of business by being loaned in great abundance whenever paper money was abundant without them, in order to be suddenly withdrawn whenever money was scarce, the constitutional Treasury was organized, and a system completed, which, having been repeated, and again re-enacted, is now substantially the law of the land, and likely so to continue."

Mr. Woodbury's industry enabled him to exercise personal supervision over all the various duties of the Treasury Department. He had drawn around him in the department proper subordinates, of superior abilities, industry, and fidelity. He demanded from them the same attention to business he gave himself, and he received it. The incapable and inefficient found no abiding-place near him. He respected those who did their duty, and his intercourse with them was kindly and courteous.

There is no space for the details of the struggles of the opposition to overthrow the administration of Mr. Van Buren, or of the part where Mr. Woodbury bore the brunt. His native State in 1838 offered him the position of Chief Justice of the State, but at the desire of the President, he declined, and continued to bear the pressure of the arduous responsibilities of the Treasury Department.

The administration of Mr. Van Buren was overthrown by the election of 1840, and the Democratic party retired into the position of opposition, appealing to the "sober second thought" of the people, while the Whigs under

General Harrison took the administration, and proposed to open "new books" and do better than their predecessors.

There was a vacancy for senator of New Hampshire to occur on the 4th of March, 1841.

After the result of the presidential election became known, the Legislature of New Hampshire elected Mr. Woodbury to this position, and on the 4th of March, 1841, he took his seat in the Senate.

The advent of the Whig administration to power was attended with a determined effort to destroy the hard money system which had been perfected under the administration of Mr. Van Buren; to cause the Treasury to hold and disburse its own revenues, and to divorce the fiscal affairs of the government from connection with or dependence on banks, state or national. An extra session of Congress was called. Appalling statements of the public debt and the decrease of the revenue heralded a demand for the repeal of the sub-treasury law, and the creation of a national bank, in which the United States should be a stockholder, subscribing not less than six millions. A bankrupt law for the people, and the further deposit of nine millions with the States, were the leading elements. The Treasury report and the programme announced by Mr. Clay at the beginning of the extra session opened the contest on the part of the administration majority. At the threshold, on the motion to print extra copies of the Secretary's report, Mr. Woodbury confronted the assertions of the report as to the condition of the liabilities and resources of the Treasury, and in two speeches analyzed the real condition of the Treasury and its coming resources, exposed the errors of the attack on its past management, its exaggeration of the debt, and the wide gulf between the means it proposed and the economic objects it professed.

The mastery these speeches showed over financial details, the clearness of his conceptions, and the readiness he evinced in applying his store of financial knowledge, established his reputation as a debater, and gave great encouragement to the Democratic party that the extra session was more likely to become celebrated for the triumphant defence of the Democrats, than the arena for their final overthrow. He was not alone. The Democrats, though a minority in the Senate, were men of rare ability and thorough knowledge of public questions. They formed a Macedonian phalanx, co-operating in defending the principles of their party and opposing the reactionary policy of the Whigs. Every attack was met by vigorous counter assaults; and which was the hunter and which the hunted soon became a matter of doubt to the political world.

The Whigs carried through their programme in part. The sub-treasury law was repealed, but the United States Bank was wrecked on repeated vetos of the President. The bankrupt law did not survive the Congress that passed it: the same hands that built its cradle laid it in the grave. Dissensions broke the Whig ranks, and the next Congressional elections restored the Democratic ascendency in each House. Without sketching the political history of this presidential term, we will briefly say that Mr. Woodbury gave a steady support to the Democratic measures of administration and the Jacksonian policy, in our foreign relations, of asking nothing that was not clearly right, and submitting to nothing that was wrong.

His long practical training in statesmanship, and the unwearied industry and concentration with which he pursued the investigation of all questions of public importance, and the readiness with which he commanded his resources in debate were conspicuously prominent. He participated in all the important debates. He discussed the tariff of 1842 in several speeches, in which he sought to enforce on the protective system the limitation that the revenue from the protected articles should not be so much diminished by the increased rates as to compel the laying of heavier duties on the necessaries and luxuries of the working classes.

He opposed the distribution of public lands to the States, and advocated reducing the price to actual settlers of this homestead trust fund for coming generations. He favored giving Great Britain notice to terminate the joint occupation of Oregon, also the opening of the Chinese commercial treaty negotiation, and the re-annexation of Texas, which, in 1819, had been unwisely ceded to Spain.

He opposed Mr. Clay's scheme for the abolition of the veto power. The imminent need of prompt action to prevent the intrigues of Great Britain for the possession of Texas became one of the issues of the presidential campaign of 1844. The Democrats nominated Mr. Polk, and the Whigs Mr. Clay. The struggle was unusually vigorous. The leading statesmen on each side addressed the people in mass meetings with their utmost power of logic and best array of facts. Governor Woodbury addressed the people in many States on the issues of the campaign; and his speeches and several campaign tracts from his pen were widely circulated. The result of the campaign was the return of the Democrats to power,— its consequences were the reorganization of the tariff, the restoration of the sub-Treasury, the divorce of the Treasury from the banks, and the divorce of the business interests of the country from fluctuating standards of money value and an entangling dependence on the caprices or favoritism of a Secretary of the Treasury.

The bill for the re-annexation of Texas was passed a few days before the expiration of Mr. Tyler's term of office.

The resignation of Judge Story at the end of the summer of 1845 made a vacancy on the Supreme Court bench. President Polk spontaneously offered the position to Mr.

Woodbury; it was accepted, and resigning his seat as senator, he entered at once on the performance of its arduous duties. Over twenty years had passed since he retired from the bench of the Supreme Court of his State. During this time he had, except when in the cabinet, continued to practise his profession when at home. His legislative and executive avocations had kept his mind occupied with the structure and object of the federal laws, and his executive duties had required continual practice in interpreting statutes on the numerous subjects pertaining to the department's supervision. All this was valuable preparation, even though during its acquisition some rust may have gathered on his stores of technical law.

In the Supreme Court of the Union, more peculiarly than in the highest tribunal of any other country, is experience in legislation and in the executive departments important to the effective performance of the high duties imposed on it by the Constitution. The administration of justice between man and man and the laws of property may be safely left to the skilled technical lawyer; but under our Constitution, the Supreme Court is also clothed with a finite political function in the government that has no parallel in existing European governments. The validity of the acts of the law-makers, and of the administration of law by the executive; the rights of States, and the settlement, where powers of different political departments are rather blindly defined, of a line to avoid collisions, cannot be gleaned from the common law of Coke and Blackstone, nor from the code of equity jurisdiction. In these elements the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court transcends that of any judicial body known to Great Britain or even Europe.

Fortunately the bar of the United States has contributed many able men to the congressional and executive departments of Government. Participation in the practical workings of this Government, with its checks, balances, divisions of powers, and organic grants and reservations, has broadened their comprehension of the true application and practical operations of law in the administration of this complicated system. Many well-trained minds have been drawn from this school of experience into the judiciary since the adoption of the Constitution, who have contributed not a little to the judicial indisposition to assume doubtful powers the influence of which has been so salutary on the firm growth of our institutions.

Owing to the ill-health of Judge Story, cases had accumulated on the dockets of the circuit, and his successor immediately began to relieve the pressure. His industry and aptness soon made him familiar with the leading principles of those branches of federal jurisdiction that were novel to him, and the favorable opinion of the bar was quickly earned.

On the bench he was a patient listener to the arguments of counsel, and gave attentive consideration to their points. His manner to them was bland and kind; never, I think, did he display petulance or irritation, even when sorely tried by rambling disquisitions.

His charges to petit juries were perspicuous and candid. A graceful and forcible delivery impressed his concise summing up of the sides of the case and his clear statements of the relation of the law to the evidence.

He undertook in charging grand juries, in each succeeding term, to explain specially a single branch of the criminal jurisdiction of the United States, conjointly with the general considerations suited to the business likely to be laid before the grand jury.

A number of these charges were widely published, — one on the Slave Trade; two on the Enforcement of Objectionable Laws; one on the Laws upon the Slavery Question; one on the Strict Construction of Federal Powers, — are collected in his published works.

The decisions of the judge on the circuit are accessible in the three volumes of Woodbury and Minot's Reports; and in the "Law Reporter" many subsequent decisions to 3 Woodbury and Minot can be found.

The Reports of the Supreme Court, 4 to 11 Howard, contain the opinions he gave from that bench; and in the second volume of his writings several of his charges to grand and petit juries and some of his early arguments as counsel are preserved.

He was often called on to grapple with questions which involved the rights of the States and their relations to the Federal Government, and while he never held the doctrine that the Federal Constitution was less the outshoot of the sovereign will of "We, the people" of these States than their own State Constitutions, he ever insisted on the duty of preserving faithfully the lines of demarcation separating what was vested in State jurisdictions from that which was granted to the Federal jurisdiction, and on that other duty of the citizen to obey each in its constitutional sphere.

These subjects are vital to-day. Nothing but the destruction of our Constitution can render them obsolete, and the growing lawyer and statesman may instructively read his opinions on: When State laws impair the obligations of contracts; their power to make license laws; their power to tax immigrant passengers or alien passengers; their right to condemn a franchise; the right to declare martial law in Rhode Island.

The constitutional doctrines these opinions sustain rest on the principle that strict construction is one where the necessary implication of attendant circumstances which should be joined shall be no more than is necessary to put the particular grant or right effectively in the hands of the grantee. From the adoption of this Constitution, rival schools of its exposition and construction had existed, — the one fearing anarchy, distrustful of the people, and seeking to strengthen the hands of the Government; the other jealous of the loss of liberty by the people, confident of their power of self-government, holding to the limited nature of delegated powers and the strict construction of all grants of powers. Each has met with vicissitudes in popularity and sustained conflicts which test its soundness; but progressive ideas, here and in Europe, have marched with those who hold for the divine right of the people to control their government.

On the bench the judge proved himself a careful and thorough investigator of the principles on which judgments ought to be founded. He never shrank from the labor any investigation might entail upon him, and in the application of principles to the facts before him, the candor with which he weighed the opposing arguments was conspicuous.

He bore a part in the investigation and discussion of the scope of the grant of admiralty jurisdiction to the Federal Government, — conspicuous because he was in the case of Waring *v.* Clarke not in accord with the majority of the court; and his opinions in the United States *v.* The New Bedford Bridge (1 Woodbury and Minot), the cases of Waring *v.* Clarke (4 Howard), The New Jersey Steam Transportation Company *v.* Merchants' Bank, and the West River Bridge and the Hartford Bridge Companies, are monuments of research connected with the jurisdiction of admiralty.

When the Supreme Court met after his death, the attorney-general, the Hon. J. J. Crittenden, in presenting the resolutions of the bar, among other things, said of him: "The continued confidence reposed in him by his country and the numerous honors which he shared all testify to his greatness, and will be his noblest monument. . . . Judge Woodbury was a man who bore his honors, great as as they were, meekly; and it was his distinguishing merit that he thought much less of them than of the duties they entailed." And the Chief Justice Taney said: "He had been a member of this court but a few years, yet he was long enough on the bench to leave behind him in the reports of the decisions of the court, the proofs of his great learning and industry, and of his eminent qualifications for the high office he filled."

Besides numerous speeches delivered on various occasions of public interest, Mr. Woodbury delivered eulogiums on the life and character of General Jackson and of ex-President Polk. The former was marked by its just discrimination of the talents and character of the "Old Roman." He also delivered lectures, for scientific, historical, and literary objects, at the invitation of leading societies, among which the National Institute, the Phi Beta Kappa of Dartmouth College, American Institute, N. Y., Historical Society at Washington, Trinity College, Hartford, New York Historical Society, are prominent. The subjects he selected — The Importance of Science in the Arts; the Promotion and Use of Science; Promotion of Agriculture; Manufactures and Commerce; Gardening; Remedies for Certain Defects in American Character; Historical Inquiries; Uncertainties of History; Traits of American Character; Progress; Independent Opinions — indicate his earnest desire for the promotion of progress, self-knowledge, and independence of opinion among his countrymen.

The tendency of his mind to the Baconian system of demonstration led him to depend on the display of facts on which his opinions rested for their effect on the minds of others, rather than on rhetoric or dogmatic expressions. His strong common-sense, his power of generalization, and his facility of distinguishing the true relation of facts to great principles make his speeches, his judicial opinions, and his lectures before scientific and historical societies storehouses of facts, tersely stated and logically arranged, to enforce the conclusions his mind had reached.

Like Strafford his motto was "thorough"; but unlike Strafford he saw its object in the light of the modern faith, in the rule of reason, "in the great liberty of equal rights under equal constitutions, the inestimable liberty of self-government, the heaven-descended liberty of conscience to worship God in the manner God may inspire every immortal soul."

As a Democrat he revered the Constitution and forms of law as necessary to the preservation and growth of personal liberty, individual character, and capacity for self-government. Education, morals, and freedom of thought were the means through which he expected the progress and development of the human race would be achieved. In a lecture in 1837, he says: "The gravestones of almost every former republic warn us that a high standard of moral rectitude, as well as of intelligence, is quite as indispensable to communities in their public doings as to individuals if they would escape from either degeneracy or disgrace." He had faith that our institutions were producing "a people, in fine, who, rather than their rulers, are sovereign in all things; and being an educated and moral people, can be, and are, behind and over all their governments, safely empowered as sovereign to change or destroy at pleasure every institution and law, and reconstruct them in the peaceful mode established by their constitutions."

In 1851, in his last public utterance before the House of Convocation at Trinity College, he says: "I am one of those who think that public opinion on many topics, as well as government, has been often wrong.

"The voice of the people, *vox populi*, is not, then, always right, in a moral or philosophical view. It may not be *vox Dei*, except in political power, in having a claim, for the time being, to obedience in government. This last it has. It is our duty, then, to bow to the supremacy of public opinion in laws, till changed or corrected by reason, information, experience. The bayonet or disobedience is not the true mode generally for reforming these errors in public opinion, but reason, left free to combat them."

The publication of a selection of his works in three volumes was begun in his life, the last two volumes being completed soon after his death. From these the facts of this memoir are mainly derived. The correspondence of his long political life has not yet been opened for biographical use, and the skeleton of his life presented by this memoir remains to be filled in by the future biographer.

His usual relaxation from his official duties was hardly more than the change of labor to some other department of learning. Later in life his fondness for the natural sciences drew him into the study of conchology, and he gradually perfected an extensive cabinet, in the collection of which he was much indebted to his friends in the naval and consular services and in the merchant marine. He enjoyed the pleasures of a collector, and also loved to see the collections of others and talk over with them their varieties and science in kindly sympathy; the friendships he thus formed never decayed in his heart. He became an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, September 4, 1847.

Few were the months that he was permitted to spend at his home, although during the circuit terms he could manage to pass Sundays there with his family. He took great pleasure in the lighter labors of his farm when occasion permitted. In its pure air, among his family, and with his friends in the adjoining town, he varied the round of the continued employment he delighted in by rides through the charming scenery, frequent visits to the river and the ocean shore, the occasional indulgence in fishing parties and chowder-making, which have always been famous festals for the merchants and lawyers of Portsmouth. Antiquarian expeditions were occasionally planned to explore the houses of the provincial worthies of old Piscataqua, including the coast from Seabrook to York, in which many a humble relic of the old provincial times was garnered and treasured. The ladies of his family were of social tastes, and he participated with them in the duties of hospitality far more than could be expected from one whose occupations were so absorbing.

Mr. Woodbury's identification with the measures which had maintained popular confidence in the Democratic party had given him a large share of that confidence. Although separated from active politics by his position on the bench, yet at the National Democratic Convention of 1848 he had received a very flattering vote for its nomination as a presidential candidate, which nomination ultimately devolved on General Cass.

In the course of events, a great and threatened danger to the stability of the Union was happily averted by the compromises of 1850, in which all the old statesmen of both parties acquiesced as well as the people.

For these measures of patriotism he placed himself on a common platform with Webster and Clay and Calhoun. He declined to speak at a union meeting at Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1850, to which he had been invited, because some questions connected with forcible resistance to the laws might come judicially before him; but in a wise and earnest letter he bore his testimony against sectional agitation. "Without more forbearance as to such agitation among the sister States, it is my solemn conviction that the present hallowed union of these States will be placed in fearful jeopardy." The country rallied to the Union for the Union, and the peril passed away for a time.

Mr. Woodbury's views, expressed in Congress, were that he disliked slavery as an institution, but that the right to abolish slavery rested with the several States; and he often cited the fact that half the States in the Union had, since the formation of the Constitution, voluntarily abolished it in their limits, as proof that its extinction would surely take place if sectional prejudices were not aroused by injudicious agitation.

Mr. Woodbury was elected a member of the Convention in New Hampshire, 1850, to remodel her Constitution. Here he labored earnestly to expunge the religious tests from her fundamental law, and to improve the judicial system. Though these measures commanded a large majority, they failed of the necessary two thirds vote; and New Hampshire had to endure these evils for more than twenty years longer.

His love for the people of New England, for civil and religious liberty, free schools, free conscience, and free suffrage is expressed in speeches delivered on many occasions, he abhorred religious intolerance.

In 1849 Major George F. Emery and others of Boston on the refusal of the Legislature to charter the College of the Holy Cross at Worcester, asked his opinion on "the right of Catholics to establish schools and colleges for the purpose of teaching such useful languages and sciences as they deem proper, together with the exclusive religious doctrines of the Catholic Church." Judge Woodbury made a well-considered and earnest reply, vindicating the right of the Catholics to teach their own religion, in schools of their own. He concluded: "In my opinion the Catholics possess rights to establish schools and colleges, to teach letters, science, and their own religion; and are, by the Constitutions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and, it is believed, of every New England State, guaranteed equally to have all legal aid to exercise these rights which is given to other denominations of Christians."

Bigotry was unable to break the force of these arguments: the liberal spirit in Massachusetts, reaching within the lines of each political party, carried the grant of a charter through a succeeding legislature; and the College of the Holy Cross now contributes its annual quota of educated and patriotic youth to promote the civilization and industry of the State, — itself a monument of the power of principles of civil and religious liberty on the minds of a free people.

The last years of his life were saddened by the deep impression of the future danger to the Union from sectionalism, and of the necessity for forbearance and moderation and compromise to preserve fraternal love among the States. His private conversations and his writings bear witness how far he held the restoration of harmonious relations among the people of the various States to be above party and personal selfishness.

The Democratic party, which had been broken by divisions, in 1848, showed strong signs of coming together, while the Whig party gave indications of increasing internal divisions. Of the names which were most canvassed in connection with the coming Democratic nomination that of Governor Woodbury appeared to be considered as the most favorable for uniting the elements. He was satisfactory to the wings of the old Democracy, who had antagonized in 1848, and commanded a good report in all sections of the country, independent of party views. Opinion in his party seemed to be harmonizing on him as the right selection for the emergency which had alarmed the sober-minded patriots.

There is something of destiny beyond the power of mortals to anticipate or control. The laborious life which he led began to tell on his iron constitution, and when he returned from Washington in the spring of 1851, the air and exercise of a week or two at his farm did not produce the usual renovating effect on his health. He went on his spring circuit and performed his other labors without regaining his elasticity. The circuit continued far into the summer, and some painful carbuncles developed, but he relaxed not in his labors. He delivered at Trinity College, Hartford, an address before the House of Convocation, July 30, 1851, and on his return said, with some surprise, that they complained his voice was low. He and his friends believed that the rest incident on the close of the term would restore his health; but the afflictions slowly gained on his strength; his debility increased, and his attendant physician, Dr. Cheever of Portsmouth, and his brother, Dr. Woodbury, of Bedford, advised the absent members of his family should be sent for. Peacefully, surrounded by his wife and children, he passed away September 4, 1851, at his home in Portsmouth.

The Bar of the different circuits of the Union, and of his native State, passed resolutions expressive of their respect for his memory. Distinguished lawyers in various States presided and addressed the meetings. His associates of the bench, in their various circuits, paid their tribute to his personal and intellectual worth and his eminent public services. The City of Portsmouth adopted resolutions, and at their request the Hon. Robert Rantoul, Jr., delivered an able and eloquent eulogy on his public service. His life was ended, but the seeds of virtue he had planted were left to spring up and bear their fruit for the people and the Union he loved so well, and to whom he had devoted his life.

WILLIAM INGALLS

"EDMUND and FRANCIS INGALLS arrived in this country from Lincolnshire, England, previous to 1638, and had in that year allotted to them one hundred and twenty acres of upland and meadow in Lynn, Massachusetts." From Edmund descended the subject of this sketch.

William Ingalls was the son of William Ingalls and Susanna Pearson, and was born in Newburyport, Essex County, Massachusetts, on the third day of May, 1769. He was prepared for college in Dummer Academy, Byfield; entered Harvard University, graduated in 1790; received the degree of M. B. in 1794, and of M. D. in 1801. He was Professor of Anatomy and Chirurgery in Brown University, in the years 1813, '14, '15, '16, and from the time he took his degree was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. His residence was always in Boston while in the practice of his profession; the last eight or ten years of his life were passed in retirement, the first three or four of them in Princeton, and the remainder in Wrentham, Massachusetts, where he died on the 9th of September, 1851, being eighty-two years and four months old. He was one of the first members of "A Republican Institution," organized in 1819, which was for a number of years a political, but of late years has been simply a social society, meeting but once a year. He was also a member of the Massachusetts Charitable Society, an organization of the most useful and honorable standing.

He became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 8, 1845. The thesis for his medical degree was written in Latin and publicly defended: "Dissertatio Medica inauguralis de Abscessu Bursali." In 1832 he published an essay on the "Ganglionary System"; in 1837, an essay on "Scarlatina"; in 1839, a lecture on "Phrenology not opposed to the Principles of Religion nor the Precepts of Christianity"; in 1847, a "Treatise on Malignant Fever and Vomito Priéto"; in 1848, an "Essay on Typhus or Ship Fever."

In the "Polyanthos," which was published by Joseph Tinker Buckingham, there is a brief notice of Dr. Ingalls, and a steel engraving of him taken from a portrait painted by Dr. Henry Williams, who was a near neighbor and friend.

The marriage of the doctor took place on the fourteenth day of December, 1802, to Miss Lucy Myrick Ridgway, who was said to be the most beautiful of the daughters of the North End, her mother's residence being at No. 13 Prince Street. She died in 1824. The children by this marriage were: Lucy Rust, born January 31, 1809, who became the wife of the late Charles Harrison Stedman, M. D., in 1829; William, born January 12, 1813; these are living. Susanna Pearson, born July 2, 1817, died 1835. It is believed that one child died two or three years before Lucy was born. He was married the second time on the 20th of December, 1828, to Miss Alice Brazer, daughter of the late Major John Brazer, and there were born from this marriage, John Brazer, and Alice Maria, wife of the Hon. George H. Monroe, both of whom are living. There was also another child, who lived but two years.

The disposition of the subject of this sketch, that is to say his most distinguishing characteristic, was charity in its most comprehensive signification, which led him to the constant practice of the duties and graces of life.

This practice was spontaneous, was ever ready, was as alive at the instant of being aroused out of a sound sleep after a hard day's work, as it was while listening to a tale of distress; it was as ready to find excuses for meanness and duplicity shown by rich and influential people as to pay attention to a recital of, and to sympathize with, the affliction and hardships of the poor and despised. Cheerfulness and a buoyant spirit were also among his characteristics. Occasional irritability of temper was shown; but his anger was brief, and as soon as it was over he felt regret, and even sorrow, for the infirmity and the exhibition of it.

He delighted in society, but was by no means what, in these days, is called a "society man"; he loved to have around him those whom he deemed his friends, and was better pleased to listen to their conversation and to witness their enjoyment than to be prominent among them; he had a keen relish for wit and humor, and he was very fond of scenic representations.

As a parent he was altogether too indulgent, as one might suppose, from what is written, he naturally would have been. The writer has never known so unselfish a man, and from all this the deduction is that the bestowal of his gifts and favors was often without judgment, frequently without consideration. To withhold was painful; himself honorable, he believed all others to be so; constantly deceived, "taken in," he yet as constantly hoped for better things from his kind. He was polite and courteous in his manners, and the humblest knew he was at all times a gentleman. He was a handsome man.

In so far as "loving and reverencing the Supreme Being and obeying his precepts," he was a religious man. "Doing unto others as he would have others do unto him," was his creed. More upon this subject need not be said.

He was industrious withal, study being a delight; at the age of seventy-five he acquired by himself the German tongue so that he became a good translator, but he never attempted to speak the language. He also translated French with facility. He was fastidious in the pronunciation of his own tongue, Walker being in his time the standard, and also in the choice of words; and it was, perhaps, attributable to this trait that what he wrote was at the cost of great labor.

Confidence in his attainments warranted him in feeling certain of gaining a high professional status, although the struggle was against those who had money and patronage, for he began life without either. Necessity compelled him to present bills and take fees, but he never could get rid of the feeling that the true physician always exercises his best talent for his patient and that such services are sacred, and ought to be acknowledged voluntarily and generously according to ability.

The peculiarity manifested by people in general, as to their obligations for services such as no one but a physician can render, leads to an apt quotation: —

> "God and the Doctor we alike adore
> Just on the brink of danger, not before;
> The danger past, both are alike requited,
> God is forgotten, and the Doctor slighted."

Dr. Ingalls died only a generation ago; and in that time what changes have taken place in the relationship of physician and patient! The doctor was family physician to the same race, in many instances, for forty years and more, and not physician merely: he was counsellor and friend, beloved and trusted in all ways and on all subjects; he was honored by every member of the family; he was a second father to them.

The professional life of Dr. Ingalls formed no exception to that of men who gain a reputation for earnestness and skill. He was a constant student and a hard worker. His natural disposition led him to be sympathetic, sometimes too much so, no doubt; but he was attentive, alive to the best interests of his patients, and skilful, and his skill was based upon a good foundation. He was an excellent anatomist and surgical operator. His chirurgery was firmly backed, first by his anatomical knowledge, and, secondly, by his judgment. He devised the plan of his operations beforehand, and then performed them with celerity, for the blessed anæsthetics were not in his time.

The writer's earliest recollections of the doctor were about the year 1817, at which time and for several years after he lived in School Street, No. 4. One room of the upper story of his house was used for a dissecting-room, and the other for a museum of anatomical specimens, whole and parts of skeletons and soft preparations: these were scattered in various ways, borrowed and never returned, and probably many were given away. He had also an anatomical lecture-room in the upper story of No. 30 Market Street (which is now called Cornhill), where he demonstrated human anatomy nightly to listening and heedful students; to how many is not known, probably an average of twenty-five or thirty. The late Surgeon-General Joseph Lovell, Drs. Samuel G. Howe and J. V. C. Smith, became prominent. A record of the names of those who attended cannot be found. It is presumable that Dr. Ingalls never knew how the material for these lectures was obtained; but certain students were alert, active, and enterprising, and there was always an ample supply.

The doctor was ever ready to help zealous students and young physicians when they sought his aid; he never refused a demand for his professional services; he was professionally punctilious; he never said one thing at the bedside to or within the hearing of a patient, and a different thing to a relative or friend at the front-door; his prescriptions were carefully written in ink and directions were explicitly given, and if they were neglected or not properly carried out, there would be a burst of indignation which the attendant would not readily forget.

In the early years of this century it was a custom with many people in this region to be "bled," especially in the spring, and a goodly proportion of them would come into the doctor's office, take off their coats, roll up their sleeves, and sit down for the performance of the operation, not only as though it was a matter of course, but because they thought it was a duty, and essential in promoting and maintaining their health "to lose blood"; and some of them came in the autumn as well as in the spring. Pondering the custom, the conclusion was quickly arrived at by the doctor that the operation of phlebotomy should not be performed without an investigation as to the state of health of the applicant for its performance. If he were in good health, there certainly was no necessity for his quota of blood being lessened; if he were ill, he should be carefully and properly examined, so that the physician could give a sensible opinion as to suitable treatment. Thus it was that the doctor was instrumental in causing the abolition of a pernicious habit.

The doctor's presence in the sick-room was a benison to the patient and the family and to all concerned; they had a feeling of security, of confidence that the proper thing would be done; for he had clearness of perception, quickness of comprehension, utmost gentleness of manner, yet when obliged to give pain he was unflinching and firm of purpose.

The doctor was a modest gentleman, hence he was reticent of the incidents of his life, and therefore this sketch is brief; to end here, however, without a mention of his political career, would be to leave out a matter of great interest. Appended is a letter received from the

Hon. Nahum Capen, which is truthful, and so much more graphic than any one else could write at this late day, so far as is known, it is thought best to give it entire.

MOUNT IDA, BOSTON.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your note of the 10th inst., asking for reminiscences of the times in which your late and respected father lived, and when I had the privilege of his friendship, is just received.

When I first became acquainted with your father, he was sixty years of age. My age was twenty-four. It was in the eventful year of 1828, when Andrew Jackson was brought forward as a candidate for the Presidency. At this time our intimacy commenced, and it continued till 1851, — the period of his death. A congenial circle of Democrats, centred by your father, General Theodore Lyman, and others, were often to be found at your father's hospitable mansion, discussing the great topics of government, the fears and hopes of the Democracy and the wants of the nation. To give you details of these meetings would be quite impossible. I can speak only of their general character, as we speak of the opening spring, leaving all to judge, of their varied experience, as to its freshness and beauty.

No one was there but with high and patriotic motives, and each and all contributed to a fund of information that indicated the true line of duty to be followed by American citizens. Our companions did not unite with selfish motives, or with motives to secure office or public distinction, but with an honest zeal to place honest and capable men at the head of our beloved republic. When Jackson was elected and inaugurated, our committee, as a committee, refused to recommend candidates for office. Each one acted for himself, as a citizen, but faithfully to the great party that had triumphed.

The election of Andrew Jackson opened a source of joy and rejoicing to your late and respected father which no pen can describe. His delight was apparently unbounded. He smiled upon everybody and upon everything, and the whole world seemed to smile upon him. His unselfish devotion to the great cause of Democracy exerted an inspiring influence upon all who enjoyed the privilege of meeting him. When it became the duty of the Government to make a new distribution of the places of trust and labor, he manifested his first unhappiness because there were not sufficient number of places to enable him to favor all the candidates he deemed worthy of appointment. No one candidate, however disappointed by failure of success, could ever charge him with neglect of duty or indifference to true merit and character. The same remarks may be justly applied to the late General Lyman, who made for himself and the public a splendid record. It was as honorable to the citizen and man as it was useful to the people.

The high reputation of your father as a physician and surgeon and professor is already upon record, and the institutions with which he was so long and usefully connected have ample evidence that his high repute was based upon a solid foundation. But few in his profession in the world, it may be truthfully said, added to his professional skill so much of the cheerful and cordial temper of a man and the true gentleman as your late and learned father. To speak of him as an individual, as a friend, and as man and citizen, I can add but little to what I have already said.

When he retired from his profession, some eight or ten years before his death, a dinner at "The Exchange" was given him by his friends. The company was large and highly respectable. Many happy speeches were made, both sensible and brilliant, but they were marked by a deep and feeling sincerity that brought intense and approving applause and pleasurable tears of recollected affection.

The most remarkable speech of the occasion was made by P. P. F. De Grand, the well-known and eloquent Frenchman, so long a prominent and useful citizen of Boston.

In substance he reviewed the events of your father's life, spoke of his scientific and professional achievements, of his public reputation, of his genial and social qualities, as a friend and as a man, and of his honest and independent example as a citizen; and then gravely remarked that "All these things and more I could say of our respected guest, *if he were absent*, but, gentlemen, as he has honored us with his most acceptable presence, I cannot dare to trespass upon your time, nor incur guilt by offending his sense of modesty."

The effect of this admirable speech was beyond that of any similar effort I ever witnessed at a dinner-table. Although it almost took away the power of speech from your father, he responded with much emotion, in eloquent terms, made more eloquent by the frequent inability of his tongue to utter the sentiments of his heart. It is possible that the speech was reported; and if so, you will find that I have given a very inadequate idea of its character.

Ever and truly yours,
Nahum Capen.

EBENEZER TURELL ANDREWS

Ebenezer Turell Andrews, son of William and Mary Andrews (Mary's name before marriage supposed to be Bass), was born in Boston, County of Suffolk, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, November 18, 1766, died October 9, 1851. He was the eighth child of William and Mary Andrews; all died many years before he did, the last about 1812. He was apprenticed to Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts, July 18, 1781, during his minority, to learn the printing business, and, as was the custom, lived in his house as one of the family. When he became of age was taken as a partner in business with Isaiah Thomas, in the book-publishing business, at 45 Newbury Street (now that part of Washington Street from Essex Street to Summer Street) in Boston. In 1794 Thomas & Andrews established a branch house at Baltimore, and in 1796 another at Albany. They published very many valuable books; among them were the works of Noah Webster, Darwin's Zoonomia, Scott's Family Bible, Bingham's works, Geographical works of Dr. Morse, several spelling-books, The Massachusetts Magazine, a monthly periodical, &c. He was an intimate friend of Carey of Philadelphia. He lived at the time of his marriage, or soon after, in Deming's Court (now Avon Place), about where Jordan, Marsh & Co.'s store now is; afterwards moved to Newbury Street, and lived over the store. When he married his second wife he moved to the adjoining house; afterwards to the house corner of Washington Street and Central Court, where Jordan, Marsh & Co.'s retail store now is; and about the year 1825 moved to the house No. 15 Winter Street, which he built, and where Spalding, Hay & Wales's store now is, and died there. He was one of the originators of The Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society; Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston; New England Mutual Life Insurance Company; Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company; Tremont Bank; Manufacturer's Fire Insurance Company.

He became an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, May 4, 1846.

He married for his first wife Hermione, daughter of Edward Weld, and she died October 22, 1807, aged thirty-eight years, and soon after he married her sister Elizabeth. His children were: —

Isaiah Thomas, born October 4, 1793; died May 30, 1819.
William Turell, born December 24, 1794; died November 24, 1879.
Elizabeth, born September 30, 1811; died June 8, 1825.
Ebenezer Turell, born February 5, 1813; died February 24, 1819.

He was well known for his industry and frugality.

ISRAEL PUTNAM PROCTOR

Israel Putnam Proctor was born at Danvers, County of Essex, September 1, 1811, and died, at the same house in which he was born, October, 16, 1851, aged forty years. During his minority, and for several years following, his home was at his father's, where he enjoyed the instructions afforded by the best schools of the town and of the county. Possessed of a mild and amiable temperament, a modest and retiring deportment, and an ardent desire for knowledge, under the watchful care of a sensible and affectionate mother, it is not strange that as he advanced in years he grew in the affectionate respect of all who knew him. While at home, when not engaged in study, he was usefully employed in the labors of the farm. But, justly concluding, that the vigor of his muscles was not well fitted to the severe task of these labors, and that the powers of his mind could be more usefully employed in some other branch of business, he for several years occupied himself as a teacher of the public schools of the town, with marked approbation. Although he was fond of the employment and was satisfied that it afforded a fine opportunity to do good to others, he soon became satisfied that the rewards of the employment were poorly proportioned to the arduousness of the task; that a man might labor and toil for years, with the best of fidelity, if he had no other resources, and still find himself houseless and penniless when his physical energies had become exhausted. Thus admonished, he gave up the employment of teaching and engaged in business at Boston, where he labored with assiduity and success, for a period of ten years, until overtaken with disease upon his lungs, an infirmity which had carried off several of his mother's kindred, and which finally caused his own death.

Rarely have we known a person who passed through life less spotted by the temptations in its paths. It may truly be said, that to him vice in all its forms was "a monster of so frightful mien, as to be hated needs but to be seen." His inmost soul was integrity itself. Without any extra professions of purity, he was purity itself. A long and intimate acquaintance with him never developed a single instance of misconduct, or a single unkind and evil feeling towards others. His whole life was a model illustration of the mild and amiable virtues.

He became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 5, 1848.

His father was Johnson Proctor, a direct descendant of John Proctor, who settled in Ipswich as early as 1635. His son, John Proctor, removed to Salem about 1660, and became a prominent citizen there, his life terminating in the awful witchcraft delusion in 1692. His mother was Mary Putnam, a direct descendant of John Putnam, who settled in Salem as early as 1635, from whom sprung the numerous family of Putnams that have overspread the land.

I have thus prepared a brief sketch of the history and peculiarities of my much lamented brother, who was taken from the world in the prime of life and usefulness.

OLIVER ALDEN TAYLOR

Oliver Alden Taylor, son of Jeremiah and Martha Shaw Taylor, was born in Yarmouth, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, August 18, 1801. He was the oldest of eleven children, eight only of whom lived to maturity.

On his father's side his grandparent was Captain Isaac Taylor, who removed from the Cape into Western Massachusetts in order to divert the attention of his sons from a seafaring life to agricultural pursuits. He became one of the earlier settlers in the town of Ashfield, Franklin County, Massachusetts. Two of his sons, notwithstanding his precaution, became sailors and masters of vessels in the merchant service. The father of Oliver was one of these. His maternal grandparent was the Rev. Timothy Alden, — a lineal descendant of John Alden, the pilgrim, — who for nearly fifty-nine years was pastor of the Congregational Church at Yarmouth, and whose wife was Sarah Weld, daughter of the Rev. Habijah Weld, for more than fifty-four years pastor of the first Congregational Church in Attleborough, Massachusetts. Soon after the birth of Oliver the family removed to Ashfield, and two years later to Hawley, an adjoining town. That section of the Bay State was then the far West, and it took a week's time to remove a family from the neighborhood of Plymouth Rock to the shadow of Greylock Mountain.

The Berkshire Hills were heavily timbered with primitive forest, to fell and burn which constituted the first labors of the settlers. If Captain Taylor had been driven into the wilderness by a raging storm, he could hardly have alighted upon a more gloomy spot than the one chosen for his future home. On the east, south and west, the hills rise so high that in winter the sun does not appear till the middle of the forenoon, and disappears at an early hour in the afternoon. So dismal was the aspect of things, even after years of toil, that when the oldest brother of Oliver's mother came to visit them, he seemed so impressed that she could not long survive amid such surroundings that he said to her, "I advise you to get ready to die at the earliest possible moment." The nearest church was five miles away, and the only outward sign of associated life in that rough, sparsely populated neighborhood a log school-house. What a change for that wife and mother, whose early home had been in the midst of the highest refinements, arising from literary, moral, and religious culture; yet there she remained, faithful to the duties imposed by those altered circumstances, with no thought of murmuring either expressed or felt. She was to have her compensation. Oliver remained in this home, aiding his father, until there sprung into being about him brothers and sisters seven, and there were three little graves in "God's Acre," not far away. In the meantime his parents, the public school of his own or neighboring district, the parish minister, and such books as his home and the neighborhood furnished had been his teachers. No dull student had he been, for every moment had been improved to the utmost. A friend once said to him, "You can have no bitter reflection for the loss of time." His answer was prompt, "I have endeavored to improve every moment." This declaration covered his entire life. He used to say a moment was worth a dollar.

As occasion might require, the lesson for the day was so arranged by being transferred to a paper which he carried in his hat, that he could commit to memory while laboring in the field, and five miles was not deemed too far to walk in the evening to obtain still further instruction. The intensity of his aspirations for a higher education is still further evinced as he declared his intention "to search for wisdom, yea, to become a philosopher," while yet he wept bitter tears that the way of knowledge was so hedged about him. Lack of opportunities was not the only trial of that period. He had no young companions to sympathize with him in his struggles to be good and wise. His oldest brother was more than eight years his junior in age. There were many to vex and tease him, reproved as they were by his upright and worthy example of sobriety and diligence; but in his chosen way he stood alone. Looking back later in life to these early years, it was a source of regret that he had no choice companionship in boyhood and youth. May 5, 1816, prompted by a clear conviction of religious obligations, he made a public profession of his faith in Christ, and united with the Congregational Church in Hawley, then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Jonathan Grout. The ministry and the foreign missionary field, if Providence might so order, was the goal now placed before him. With this end in view, nothing could daunt his courage in his determination to be a first-class scholar, especially as his fond mother fired his zeal and fostered his efforts to any degree of sacrifice on her part.

Sixty years have made vast changes, not only in the standard placed before the aspirant for literary honors, but in the facilities for obtaining an education. At the beginning of the century the graded-school system, crowned with the high school, where all necessary preparation for college can be obtained free of cost, had no existence. Here and there a thrifty town maintained an academy or a select school, where youth might fit for college. In Ashfield, ten miles away from his home, there was such an academy, which Oliver entered in December, 1819, a little after he had completed his eighteenth year. Friends in the neighborhood helped him in the matter of board. How happy he was in the possession of such privileges none can tell except those who have been similarly situated. His golden bowl of pleasure was quickly dashed from his lips. The next month, January 5, 1820, he was suddenly bereft of his father. So malignant was the disease that terminated his life, that though the son hastened to his bedside at the earliest moment his sickness was announced, he was dead on his arrival home. A new problem is now to be solved. How can that widowed mother, with her dependent family, in midwinter, spare her oldest son? Her neighbors and friends said it was impossible. The mother said, "Go, my son, and God's blessing be with you." Not without her sanction would he have gone; but that being obtained, he was quickly at his place in school and class-room. Through the intercession of friends, after a few months' study, he was accepted as a beneficiary of the American Education Society, which furnishes a small sum quarterly to young men preparing for the gospel ministry. This aid is granted now only to those who are sufficiently advanced to enter college; then it assisted in the preparatory course as well. But for this timely aid, the outlook for many of the youth of the period would have been gloomy in the extreme. Young Taylor seems to have made such acquisitions as the academy afforded in a few months. What next? is the question he and his friends must decide. The Rev. Timothy Alden, Jr., his oldest maternal uncle, had established a college in Meadville, Pennsylvania, of which he was then president. He invited his nephew to become a student there, such was the decision to which he came.

The distance to be gone over to reach Meadville was five hundred and fifty miles. No railroad existed in that direction in those early days. Eleven dollars and ten cents was all the money he could command, most of this a loan from his early and lifelong friend, the Rev. Thomas Shepard,* and his only alternative was to make the journey on foot. There was a tender scene in the home circle the evening before he started. Neighbors and friends came in to pray with and for him, continuing their meeting till past midnight. April 29, 1820, he started, and reached his destination in a little over three weeks, expending by the way about five and a half dollars. Arriving at Meadville, he taught school a brief term and then entered upon his studies in the college. Here he remained for two years. Though the college curriculum did not offer in those early days of its existence and poverty the advantages which seemed so essential to his highest success, yet the love and influence of his uncle went far to compensate for any loss he might sustain. One of the lessons President Alden imparted to his pupil and which was enforced by his own example was to seek a broad scholarship, master as many languages as possible. It was due largely to this instruction, so early imparted, that Mr. Taylor so shaped his studies as in the end to become a careful French, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar. Reluctantly, but for better opportunities, he took up his connection with Alleghany College, April 30, 1822, and entered Union College, Schenectady, New York, on the 16th of May following, becoming a member of the class about to enter the Sophomore year. In December, 1822, he visited his early home. He had been absent from Hawley two and a half years. Tender indeed was the reunion of parent and child, family and friends, after so long a separation and under circumstances so peculiar.

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* This early friend of the struggling youth endeared himself in many ways to the entire family, of which Oliver was one of four sons who obtained a liberal education and entered the ministry of the Congregational Church. He survived till October 5, 1879, having rounded out his life of good deeds to fourscore and seven years, and had long been known as the Rev. Thomas Shepard, D.D., of Bristol, Rhode Island.

Never was filial devotion more abiding, pure, tender than in this son, as is evinced by the letters and journal of his whole life. He had occasion once beside this to visit his home during his college course, in consequence of sickness; with these exceptions he remained at college and in the vicinity of it both in term time and vacation, pressing on his studies and teaching and doing other remunerative work as opportunity might offer. He received pecuniary aid from the Albany Presbytery during the last half of the college course, remarking as he made application for it, "I shudder at the thought of employing the Lord's treasures on myself. It seems to me a fearful thing." Had all those who have been recipients of the charities of the church been alike impressed with the solemnity of their situation, the strong spirit of opposition which has in later years been awakened to this mode of helping young men into the ministry had not been aroused. Mr. Taylor ultimately made arrangements to have the amount he received from this last source refunded, principal and interest, as a matter of honor, rather than as a legal obligation.

His untiring assiduity while in college is evinced in several ways. He was elected to membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Society at the close of the Junior year. He ever prized highly his connection with this society, and as opportunity might offer attended its anniversary at Harvard College. A few days before his graduation he passed into the hands of Professor Potter, of the College Faculty, a translation from the French of a geometrical work of Biot, making a volume of four hundred and fifty octavo pages. This labor had been undertaken at the earnest solicitation of Professor Potter, who remunerated him liberally for it when completed. His great diligence had not only been noted by the college instructors, but had also awakened their fears that it might be too untiring. His health seemed endangered while pursuing his favorite maxim, "The scholar trims his midnight lamp," and they advised him to shorten up on night work. He stood high on the Roll of Honor in the final appointments of the class. His exercise on Commencement Day was a poem. He was graduated July 28, 1825.

Though deeply absorbed in study and literary pursuits while in college, he was not a recluse. He maintained a lively interest in the outside world. He loved his fellow-beings, and made their sorrows and joys his own. He became greatly interested at one time in a criminal who had been tried and condemned by the court, whose sessions were held in the vicinity of the college, and the day before his execution visited him in his cell for conversation and prayer. The fountain of pure affection and warm philanthropy, which irrigated, enriched, and beautified to an eminent degree his entire manhood, had begun even then to flow freely.

Mr. Taylor began his studies, as we have seen, with definite plans for the future before him; hence he was spared all doubt and perplexity as to the next step when through college. After a few months spent in recreation during the summer vacation in Hawley, and subsequently with his aged grandfather at Yarmouth on the Cape, he began the studies of the theological course in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts. As he took his first survey of things on that "sacred hill" in the autumn of 1825 "every object bore to him the aspect of sacredness." The students constituted a delightful brotherhood. Here for the next fourteen years he remained a resident, with the exception of one year, before completing the regular course in the seminary, which he spent in teaching school in Gloucester, Cape Ann.

If in the beginning he was charmed with Andover and its opportunities for accomplished scholarship, his interest increased with the lapse of years. There he formed some of the dearest friendships of life with men eminent in the chair of instruction, in the pulpit, and in missionary labors, and his heart ever went back to those classic scenes as the Jerusalem of his love. He completed the prescribed course of theological study in the seminary, September 23, 1829. He had already been approbated to preach the gospel the previous November, and preached his first sermon, March 29, 1829. His ability in the pulpit was early appreciated where he chanced to spend a Sabbath. He was invited to preach as a candidate for settlement immediately after graduation from the seminary. Having now reached the goal for which he started under such discouragements, many wondered why he hesitated for an hour to listen to the call and begin the full work of the ministry, when so cordially offered to him. He answers, "Because I wish to attend to some studies which others neglect. What contracted minds have many students! they might be put into a thimble." In deciding to remain at Andover, his plan was to continue his favorite studies, especially to perfect himself as much as possible in Oriental learning; preach as he might have opportunity on the Sabbath; translate such works from the German as seemed waiting for an English dress; bring out a history of the pulpit, so greatly needed and pressed upon his attention by many of the leading scholars, and then to render such service to the seminary as might from time to time be demanded. In the prosecution of this plan, early in 1831, he brought through the press Reinhard's "Plan of the Founder of Christianity," and in 1832 "The Memoirs and Confessions of Reinhard," both translations from the German, and which elicited warm commendation. In 1835 he published a duodecimo volume, two hundred and sixty pages, "Brief Views of the Saviour." In the autumn of 1835 he was elected associate teacher of biblical literature for the ensuing year in Professor Stuart's department of instruction in the seminary. In fulfilling the appointment he found much in the class-room to interest and stimulate him. But the great monument to his untiring industry and accurate scholarship abides in his catalogue of the library of the Theological Seminary, on which he labored, as circumstances would permit, for more than two years and seven months. It was completed and published in the spring of 1838. It will be seen also, in the list of his publications, that during this time many of the Quarterlies of that period were indebted to his pen for erudite treatises on important themes.

In 1837, when Professor Edward Robinson of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, was arranging to spend a year in Biblical researches in the East, he applied to Mr. Taylor to fill his chair of instruction during his absence. However tempting the overture, his labors at Andover were so highly appreciated that he decided to remain there.

Repeated calls had come to him to enter the pastorate prior to 1839. Till then his mind had not formed a definite conclusion in regard to his duty of entering the foreign field of missionary labor. August 10th of this year he submitted the question in full to the Committee of the American Board, accompanied with his arguments, *pro* and *con.* The committee expressed judgment that the state of his health, and other reasons to which he gave prominence, seemed clearly to indicate that it would be better to enter on the pastoral work at home.

He had already, in July, begun preaching in the vacant pulpit of the Orthodox Congregational Church in Manchester, Massachusetts. In due time he received and accepted a call to settle. His installation took place September 18th. He had been ordained as an evangelist by the Londonderry Presbytery, then holding its session at Newburyport, the preceding November. It may well be conceived that it was no easy thing for one so wedded to uninterrupted study and so buried in books as he had been for a long term of years, to enter the pastorate. He turned from the old to the new with a wailing farewell to his Arabic Dictionaries, the Koran, De Sacy, Klopstock, and Reinhard; yet his loyalty to duty under all circumstances was a sufficient guarantee that the claims of his new calling would be faithfully met.

In the spirit of trust rather than of speculation he went forward. "I propose to content myself with moving along the shore of the great ocean of truth, picking up gems to be found until clad in immortality. I dare not do otherwise. Humility seems to require this, and most of those who venture out far are caught away from their fastenings and to their utter destruction are submerged beneath the billows. The plain, obvious instructions of the gospel contain truth enough for children. I am certainly nothing more than a child in the school of Christ, and I suspect that in this life we shall none of us pass much beyond our majority." It was an oft-recurring expression on his lips, in scenes of trial and perplexity, "I am nought but a little child."

He brought his accustomed zeal to pulpit and parochial work, and the rural parish soon found his presence a benediction and became greatly enriched under the hand of his careful culture. His matter and manner in the pulpit and his intercourse among the people afforded abundant evidence, not only that he had been familiar with the profound erudition of the library, but through devout communings with the Infinite Mind had received instructions from higher than any earthly source. He studied well, because he prayed well. He was no less a student now than before, though the lines of study were often in a different direction.

It was not enough for him to know the temporal and spiritual condition of the people, so as to serve them to the best advantage. Nature herself must be studied, so that he might see, and lead others to see, God in everything. His soul was aroused to sublime thoughts by the grandeur of the sea, and hushed to gentle musings in the deep glens of the forest.

He felt more than ever the need of some work on comparative anatomy, being more and more convinced that, next to the Bible, a minister should study the works of nature. Whatever was new and curious in any range of science claimed his attention. His spirit of research and ever-widening scholarship would not rest until he could call the birds and flowers by name, and arrange the rocks and trees in their order. The strange worm that crossed his path or the feathered songster that carolled a new note in his ear awakened his careful investigation. It was his business to know whence they came, on what errand. In his early morning walks, taken in pursuit of health and knowledge, he often met with some object so rare and curious as to demand extended study to give to it its classification. He says, on one occasion, "I called into a neighbor's house to see a curious worm which had just been found in the woods near by. Went over again in the evening and examined it, both by daylight and in a dark closet." Then follow several pages in description of this life-phenomenon. Had one chanced to have seen him between those two visits, he would have been found rummaging all the works on natural history in his reach, until he obtained the exact delineation sought.

This earnest spirit of inquiry was prejudicial to his health. He had no seasons of mental relaxation. If he took a vacation from parish duties, he was plodding somewhere else. In 1847, during the summer, he made quite an extended tour through the interior of our own country, enjoying to the full what was new and interesting; but he was so unceasingly active in pressing inquiries in various directions, and furnishing communications for a daily journal, that it proved anything else than a season of recreation. He needed rest more when he returned than when he started. At St. Louis or Niagara he was the same restless inquirer after facts, history, and science,— anything interesting to be known. His very walk revealed the life within. As of another, so of him,—

"Haply some hoary-headed swain may say,
Oft have we seen him at the peep of dawn,
Brushing with hasty steps the dews away,
To meet the sun upon the upland lawn."

He was extremely fond of antiquarian researches, especially when conducting him along the line of ancestral genealogy. His seasons of relaxation from severer studies he devoted to pursuits of this kind until his attainments were not inconsiderable. He used to say, however, it was rather dangerous to one's pride of pedigree, this studying into the life and character of these who had gone before; for the investigations were pretty sure to reveal, sooner or later, some character notorious for criminal conduct, through whose veins his own blood had flowed in its descent. He was elected a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society on September 23, 1845. At a meeting of the Oriental Society, held in New Haven, Connecticut, October 22, 1851, he was elected a corporate member of that society.

Rev. Oliver A. Taylor was married November 4, 1843, to Mary, only surviving daughter of Nehemiah Cleaveland, M. D., and Experience (Lord) Cleaveland of Topsfield, Massachusetts. The parties were admirably fitted for each other, and the domestic relations thus formed were rich in blessings to pastor and people. They had no children. Mrs. Taylor survived her husband many years. She spent the evening of her days in her native town, greatly beloved and honored. Her death occurred in September, 1872.

The pastorate in Manchester continued for twelve years and two months, and was closed by the death of the pastor, December 18, 1851, at the age of fifty years and four months.

The sickness which terminated thus fatally was chronic dysentery, prolonged and distressing. During all the painful scene, alternating with hope and fear, the Christian scholar, the devoted minister, the loving pastor and tender friend was eminent. The gospel which he had preached to others sustained the sufferer. When free from paroxysms of pain, though too feeble to leave his bed, he craved books and study; and so methodical had been his habits and ways of work, and so familiar was he with the name and number of each volume in his library of over twenty-five hundred books, that under his instruction any one could be brought to him without delay.

As was natural, his people claimed his mortal remains in burial. His sepulchre is with them, honored by a free stone monument inscribed with the important dates in his history, and also bestowing befitting words of tribute to his memory. It was a very pleasing testimony to the esteem in which the late pastor had been held by his people that when the question of a successor was agitated, with great unanimity they turned their attention to his second brother, the Rev. Rufus Taylor, then pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Shrewsbury, New Jersey. A call was extended to him and accepted. His installation took place, May 6, 1852.

At the time of his death the Rev. O. A. Taylor had in manuscript a "History of the Pulpit, from the Time of Christ down to the Present Day," on which he had expended much time and labor, and which he had hoped to have published before leaving Andover. This, in accordance with his own suggestion, was committed to Professor George Shepard of Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine. It has never been published.

Valuable genealogical papers pertaining to the Cleaveland family were passed over to the brothers of Mrs. Taylor.

Papers arranged with reference to a memoir of his uncle, the Rev. Timothy Alden, first president of Alleghany College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, were committed to his youngest brother, the Rev. Jeremiah Taylor.

Early in life the subject of this sketch exhibited a fondness for versification, and among his literary remains may be found evidence that he could establish a claim to considerable poetic talent. When a child he asked his pastor, as the most learned man in the town, What is poetry? A learned essay was returned to him in reply. He could not comprehend it, but ultimately came to the conclusion "that *verse* is the bottle to hold poetry in." In later life he says, "I never was a great favorite with the Muses, though they have sometimes visited me. Translating from the German is not favorable to the cultivation of poetry." In his volume, "Brief Views of the Saviour," many hymns, some original and some in imitation, are interspersed. As early in his college course as 1820, at the laying of the corner-stone to the college building, Bentley Hall, Meadville, Pennsylvania, July 5, he was called upon to deliver a poem, and December 20 of the same year, on Forefathers' Day, he appeared in verse again, — his theme "Pilgrims of Leyden." In connection with a eulogy occasioned by the death of a fellow-student in Alleghany College, he delivered a poem. Also a farewell in verse to Mr. and Mrs. David Remington, on their way as missionaries to the Choctaws. These fugitive pieces appeared most, if not all of them, in the "Western Standard," in 1821. When a member of Union College he published, in poetry, in the Mohawk Sentinel, "Charity," October 28, 1834. "The Banks of the Mohawk," December 23. "The Slave," date unknown. At Andover, "A Mother's Soliloquy over an Only and Profligate Child," appeared in the Boston *Recorder*, December 23, 1825, from his pen. "Greece," a fragment, appeared in the same paper, April 26, 1828. His last effort in poetry was the translation of the celebrated Latin hymn, "Dies Iræ," published in the August number, 1851, of the *Christian Parlor Magazine.* Several of the pieces in poetry which are incorporated into his memoir by his brother, the Rev. T. A. Taylor, awakened unusual interest when composed, memorably that addressed to his wife on the death of her mother, who died January 21, 1845; and that occasioned by the death of the son of the Rev. C. M. Nickels of Gloucester, August 18, 1846; also, the one sung at the re-opening of the church in Manchester, April 9, 1846.

Of his prose writings, the Encyclopædia Americana in their appropriate place contains several articles translated by him (1828–29) from the Conversations Lexicon in German, for Dr. Lieber, of this number are Gnade or Grace, Gnosticism, Catholicism, Coronation, Gold, Goldbeating, Ignition or Glowing Heat. In 1830 he spent three months in translating two works for W. C. Woodbridge, the geographer, residing in the mean time at Hartford, Connecticut, in order to facilitate his work.

In 1831 he published his translation of Reinhard's "Plan of the Founder of Christianity." 1832, "Memoirs and Confessions of Reinhard." 1833, in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, "Review of Gurney on the Sabbath." 1833 and 1835 and later, in the *Biblical Repository*, "Augustine on Preaching," "Augustine as a Sacred Orator," "Pfeiffer on Hebrew Music." 1834, he prepared an Index for Schmucker's Popular Theology. 1835, "Brief Views of the Saviour." 1838, Catalogue of Andover Theological Seminary Library. The same year, Sketches, Statistics, etc., of the Seminary and Alumni, published in the *American Quarterly Register.* Chiliasm is published in Vol. VIII., *Christian Review.* 1844, "Memoir of Andrew Lee." 1847, A sermon, preached in Wenham, Massachusetts, October 27, at the ordination of his youngest brother, Jeremiah Taylor, as pastor of the Congregational Church in that place. 1851, Brief History, Articles of Faith, and Covenant of the Church in Manchester, of which he was pastor. The memoir of the Rev. Oliver Alden Taylor, by his senior brother, the Rev. Timothy A. Taylor, was published in 1853, and was embellished with a steel portrait engraving. A second edition, enlarged, was brought out by the author in 1854. Most of this edition, the plate of the engraving having been lost, was bound without the likeness. The *New Englander*, November, 1853, contains an extended review of the memoir, by the Rev. S. D. Clark. In the "Annals of the American Pulpit," Vol. II., Trinitarian Congregational, is a brief sketch of him by the editor, the Rev. William B. Sprague, D.D., accompanied with an appreciative letter on his life and character by Prof. Edwards A. Park, D. D.

HENRY CLAY

To almost any eye which surveys dispassionately the field of our National History during the last sixty or seventy years, the stately figure of HENRY CLAY will come at once and prominently into view. No American eye will ever overlook it. No American pen will ever attempt to dwarf or disparage it. All that Webster was to the North, all that Calhoun was to the South, Clay was to the Great West; perhaps more than all.

Neither of these three remarkable men ever commanded the votes of the whole country, or grasped the coveted prize of the Presidency. But together — sometimes in opposition, sometimes in conjunction, and almost always in rivalry — they exercised an influence on public affairs far greater than that of any other three men of their times. They did not leave their peers. Thus far they have had no successors of equal individuality, prominence, and power.

Their last signal public efforts were made, side by side, in the Senate of the United States, in support of what were called the Compromises of 1850. Before two years more had elapsed, they were all three in their graves. Had their lives been prolonged, in health and strength, for another decade, the civil war might haply have been averted. Calhoun's doctrines of nullification and secession may have pointed and even led the way to that war, but he had far too much of that "wisdom which dwelleth with prudence" to have prompted or sanctioned it; while the giant arms of Webster and Clay would have held it in check as long as they lived. No other statesmen of that period had the prestige and the power to repress and arrest the strife of sections and of tongues which gradually brought on the struggle of arms, even had they desired to do so. The part, if not the art, of those who came after them, in all quarters of the land, seems rather to have been, consciously or unconsciously, to provoke and precipitate that terrible conflict between the North and the South, which was destined, by the good providence of God, to decide the question whether the American Union was strong enough to outlast the overthrow of African Slavery, and to maintain itself against all comers, domestic or foreign. All the world now rejoices in that decision, though all the world may not have sympathized with the spirit in which it was prosecuted, or in the precise steps by which it was reached. Henry Clay, certainly, would never have recognized such a conflict, in advance, as "irrepressible," nor ever have relaxed his efforts to preserve the Union without the effusion of fraternal blood.

In yielding to the call for a memoir of this great statesman, as a contribution to the present volume, I am well aware how utterly impracticable it will be to condense into a few pages any adequate notice of so long and varied a life. The most that can be attempted, or certainly the most that can be accomplished, is a cursory sketch of a grand career, with such personal reminiscences as may be recalled by one, who was in the way of witnessing, personally, no inconsiderable part at least of its later stages. It may serve as an index, if nothing more, for those who are disposed to study his character and life more minutely hereafter. Mr. Clay, fortunately or unfortunately, was not of a nature to take any particular pains to keep the record of his own words or thoughts or acts, and he may thus fare less well with posterity than many of his inferiors. But his Life and Speeches have been worked up by others in at least two separate forms of two volumes each, and his Private Correspondence has been collected in still another volume; while the Debates, and Journals, and Annals of Congress, and the pages of almost every biographical dictionary, contain ample reports and details of his sayings and doings.

Born in Hanover County, Virginia, in a neighborhood called "The Slashes," on the 12th of April, 1777, — less than a year after the Declaration of American Independence, — he would seem to have imbibed with his mother's milk the bold, independent spirit which pervaded the Colonies at that critical period. Bereaved of his father when only four years of age, he was left to pick up such crumbs of education as could be found on the earthen floor of a log school-house, under the tuition of a master of intemperate habits. The only tradition of his early childhood presents him on a bare-backed pony, with a rope-halter instead of a bridle, riding fearlessly and sometimes furiously, to a neighboring mill, to replenish his mother's meal-bag as often as it was empty. And thus young Harry became famous for twenty miles the country round about, as "the Mill Boy of the Slashes,"— a nickname which served his supporters a good turn afterwards, in more than one presidential campaign. We trace him next to Richmond, keeping accounts in a retail variety shop. But not long afterwards we find him employed as a copyist for the Clerk of the Courts and the Attorney-General of the State, and as an occasional amanuensis for the illustrious Virginian Chancellor, George Wythe. In these relations he must have acquired the singularly neat and almost feminine hand, which may be seen alike in his earlier and later autographs. He was never one of those statists, of whom Shakspeare tells us, who "held it a baseness to write fair." In these relations, too, he undoubtedly became imbued with that love of legal study, on which he entered seriously at nineteen years of age, and which he prosecuted so successfully as to obtain a license to practise law before he was twenty-one. Above all, in these relations he acquired the friendship and confidence of George Wythe, who was not only one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and a distinguished member of the Virginia Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, of which he was an earnest advocate and supporter, but who signalized his love of human freedom by emancipating all his negroes before his own death, and making provision for their subsistence. The influence of such a friendship and such an example could hardly fail to manifest itself in the future life of any one who enjoyed it. It was better than an education.

Young Clay, however, was not destined to remain long within the immediate reach of that influence as, some years before the death of the great Chancellor, he had removed from Richmond and entered on a new scene of life. His mother, who had been married again after a widowhood of ten years, had changed her residence to Kentucky, then a new Commonwealth, just separated from Virginia, whither her son, who was devotedly attached to her, soon followed, and opened a law office in Lexington. Thenceforward he was to be known as the Great Kentuckian. Thenceforward the gallant young State, with whose earliest fortunes he had thus identified himself, was to have no more brilliant orator, no more distinguished statesman, no more beloved and devoted citizen, than Henry Clay.

Entering her Legislature, as the representative of Fayette County, in 1803, at twenty-six years of age, he so commended himself to the favor and confidence of his fellow-members, that, before three years had elapsed, he was chosen by them to fill a vacancy in the Senate of the United States; and, if the tradition be correct, he actually took his seat in that exalted body before he had quite attained the age of thirty, prescribed by the Constitution of the United States.

While welcoming Mr. Clay to Boston, as Chairman of a Young Men's Committee, in the autumn of 1833, I found that he was indisposed to have this early breach of Constitutional requirements alluded to, or inquired into, with too much particularity. "I think, my young friend," said he, "we may as well omit any reference to my supposed juvenile indiscretions." He was then of an age to pride himself more on his ardent devotion to the Constitution, than on any precocious personal popularity, or any premature political advancement.

This first term of service at Washington was a brief one, ending with the existing session. But it did not expire until he had made his mark on the national calendar as an earnest and powerful advocate of internal improvements. During the following year, he had returned to the Legislature of Kentucky, and was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives of that State. But in 1809, he was again sent to Washington, to fill another vacancy in the United States Senate, where he served with distinction for two years. And now, in 1811, he enters the field of a still more conspicuous and responsible service, having been elected Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, almost by acclamation, on the very first day of his taking his seat as a member of that body.

Mr. Clay was six times elected Speaker of the House, and held that lofty position longer than any one in the history of our country, before or since. No abler or more commanding presiding officer has ever sat in a

Speaker's Chair on either side of the Atlantic. Prompt, dignified, resolute, fearless, he had a combination of intellectual and physical qualities which made him a natural ruler over men. There was a magnetism in his voice and manner which attracted the willing attention, acquiescence, and even obedience, of those over whom he presided. He was no painstaking student of Parliamentary Law, but found the rules of his governance more frequently in his own instinctive sense of what was practicable and proper, than in Hatsell's Precedents, or in Jefferson's Manual. He was, in some sense, a law unto himself, and could he have bent himself to compose or compile a Code of Proceeding for the House over which he presided, its Rules and Orders might have escaped the chaotic confusion from which so many vain efforts have been made of late years to extricate them.

He betrayed to me one of the characteristic secrets of his success, more than thirty years afterwards, when I had the honor of occupying the same Chair. "I have attentively observed your course as Speaker," said he to me one day, most kindly, "and I have heartily approved it. But let me give you one hint from the experience of the oldest survivor of your predecessors. *Decide — decide promptly — and never give your reasons for the decision.* The House will sustain your decisions, but there will always be men to cavil and quarrel about your reasons."

Mr. Clay's terms of the Speakership, beginning in 1811 and ending in 1825, were more than once interrupted by other and not less important public avocations. He resigned the Chair in January, 1814, on his appointment, by President Madison, as one of the Five Commissioners to Ghent, to negotiate the treaty which resulted in the peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1815. John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, Jonathan Russell, and the elder James A. Bayard, were his colleagues in that memorable negotiation. No one has ever questioned the great importance of Mr. Clay's services on that Commission. He had been the leader of the War Party on the floor of Congress, and had been more instrumental than any other man in bringing about the Declaration of War. His duties as Speaker never prevented him from taking an active part in the debates when the House was in Committee of the Whole, and his voice at that period was as commanding on the floor as it was in the Chair. So ardent and strenuous was he in demanding that the rights of his country on the ocean should be vindicated, and the wrongs of her sailors and her trade redressed, even by an appeal to arms, and so much confidence did he inspire in his own readiness, courage, and capacity to take any part which might be assigned to him in the conduct of the war which he advocated, that President Madison is well understood to have contemplated, at one moment, offering him the command of the American Army. Clay had many of the attributes of a great soldier, and might perchance have won as distinguished a name in the field as he did in the forum. But the higher and nobler offices of peace were happily reserved for him, and he for them.

Re-elected to the Speakership, on his return from Ghent, he resigned it again in 1820, owing to the pressure of his private affairs; but he retained his seat as a member of the House, and took a leading part, from time to time, in the great "Missouri Compromise" debate of that period. Indeed, to him, more than to any other man, has always been ascribed the passage of that memorable measure, — one of the landmarks of American History, — which limited Slavery by the latitude of 36° 30′. Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," says: "Mr. Clay has been often complimented as the author of the Compromise of 1820, in spite of his repeated declaration to the contrary; but he is the undisputed author of the final settlement of the Missouri Controversy in the actual admission of the State." That was the first great controversy which threatened to bring about the establishment of geographical parties, so emphatically deprecated by Washington in his Farewell Address, — parties divided by a Slavery and Anti-Slavery line, and "squinting," if not looking directly, towards a dissolution of the Union, or an attempt to dissolve it by civil war. It is, however, a most striking fact in our subsequent political history, that the Compromise thus effected, and which was so vehemently opposed and denounced by the great mass of the Northern people and their Representatives at the time, came at last, in the process of time and chance and change, to be counted as one of the special securities and safeguards of the Free States against the unlimited extension of Slavery, and that its mad repeal was the subject of even more indignant and violent agitation and remonstrance by the North, in 1854, than its original adoption had been, in 1820. Few persons who knew Mr. Clay will hesitate to say that it never would have been repealed, had he survived, in health and strength, to take part in the controversies of that day. Douglas would not have dared to propose it in his presence. And no one can fail to perceive and admit that the immediate result of that repeal was precisely what its passage was designed to prevent, — the formation of geographical parties, with a fatal inclination, as it proved, towards civil war.

It was during the last days of the debate on this Missouri Bill, in 1821, that Mr. Clay was wrought up to such a pitch of impatience and impetuosity, that, having been twice thwarted by the technical ruling of his successor in the Chair, he was heard vociferating in tones that none but he could command: "Then I move to suspend *all* the rules of the House — Away with them! Is it to be endured that we shall be trammelled in our action by mere forms and technicalities at a moment like this, when the peace, and perhaps the existence, of the Union is at stake?" It was well said by one of his best friends, that he carried his point literally by storm.

Mr. Clay was once more elected Speaker in 1823, and held the Chair during the whole of the Eighteenth Congress. At its close, in 1825, he was called to enter on a new field of service, as Secretary of State to President John Quincy Adams. His appointment to that office, and his ready acceptance of it, gave occasion to a barefaced charge of "bargain and corruption," which occupied no small space, for several years, among the partisan criminations and clamors of the period. No one in these days would give a second sober thought to such a charge. The characters of the two men, as now universally recognized, are a sufficient refutation of the scandal; while the more recent examples of trading and "dickering" in public offices, both State and National, have left this stale allegation against Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams — even if it had not been long ago exploded as false and groundless — altogether too small and insignificant a matter to be recalled, except in the way of renewed warning that the brightest names may for the moment be maliciously tarnished. "Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny."

It may not be without interest to recall what Mr. Adams himself said on the subject, in reply to a complimentary address or letter at the close of his administration in 1829. "Upon Mr. Clay," said he, "the foulest slanders have been showered. Long known and appreciated, as successively a member of both branches of your National Legislature, as the unrivalled Speaker, and, at the same time, most efficient leader of debates in both of them, as an able and successful negotiator for your interests in war and in peace with foreign powers, and as a powerful candidate for the highest of your trusts, the Department of State itself was a station which, by its bestowal, could confer neither profit nor honor upon him, but upon which he has shed unfading honor by the manner in which he has discharged its duties. Prejudice and passion have charged him with obtaining that office by bargain and corruption. Before you, my fellow-citizens, in the presence of our country and of Heaven, I pronounce that charge totally unfounded. This tribute of justice is due from me to him, and I seize with pleasure the opportunity, offered me by your letter, of discharging the obligation.

"As to my motives for tendering to him the Department of State when I did, let that man who questions them come forward. Let him look around among statesmen and legislators of this nation and of this day. Let him then select and name the man whom, by his pre-eminent talents, by his splendid services, by his ardent patriotism, by his all-embracing public spirit, by his fervid eloquence in behalf of the rights and liberties of mankind, by his long experience in the affairs of the Union, foreign and domestic, — a President of the United States, intent only upon the honor and welfare of his country, ought to have preferred to Henry Clay. Let him name the man, and then judge you, my fellow-citizens, of my motives."

In immediate connection with this grand testimony and tribute by Mr. Adams, it may be well to recall, also, what Mr. Clay himself said to his own fellow-citizens and friends at Lexington, in 1842: "I defy my enemies to point out any act or instance of my life in which I have sought the attainment of office by dishonorable or unworthy means. Did I display inordinate ambition when, under the administration of Mr. Madison, I declined a foreign mission of the first grade, and an executive department, both of which he successively and kindly tendered to me? or when, under that of his successor, Mr. Monroe, I was first importuned (as no one knows better than that sterling old patriot, Jonathan Robbins, now threatened, as the papers tell us, with expulsion from an office which was never filled with more honesty and uprightness, because he declines to be a servile instrument) to accept a secretaryship, and was afterwards offered a *carte blanche* of all the foreign missions? At the epoch of the election of 1825, I believe no one doubted at Washington that, if I had felt it my duty to vote for General Jackson, he would have invited me to take charge of a department. And such, undoubtedly, Mr. Crawford would have done if he had been elected."

This is a most important piece of autobiography, and supplies facts in Mr. Clay's career which might not have been obtained from any other source than his own confessions and assertions.

And now it may well be questioned whether the foreign relations of our country have ever been under the control of more accomplished and capable men than when John Quincy Adams was President, with Henry Clay as his Secretary of State. Mr. Adams, we need not say, was thoroughly versed in diplomacy, having been our Minister at several Courts successively, including Berlin, St. Petersburg, and London, before he was Secretary of State for eight years under President Monroe. Mr. Clay, meantime, as we have already seen, had been associated with him at Ghent, and had exhibited the highest sagacity and ability in the discussion and direction of our policy towards other countries, South American and European, as a member of Congress. Together they combined the largest experience, and the greatest vigilance, energy, and skill. The treaties negotiated by Mr. Clay, during his term of four years, are believed to have exceeded in number all that had been negotiated by other Secretaries during the previous thirty-five years of our constitutional history.

The period was one of peculiar interest, in view of the great political changes which were taking place in our own American hemisphere. Brazil, in 1825, was finally severed from Portuguese dominion, and Buenos Ayres, Colombia, Mexico, Chili, Central America, and Peru were just assuming their positions as independent nations. The colonial connection between America and Europe was thus in process of complete dissolution. The Panama Congress was in immediate prospect, and Mr. Clay's instructions and letters on that subject are among the most interesting and notable State Papers in our archives. As a representative in Congress, in 1818, 1820, and 1822, he had, indeed, taken the lead in urging upon our Government the immediate recognition of the new South American States, then struggling bravely to establish and maintain their independence, and in assuring them of the warm sympathy of our own Republic. He was earlier than George Canning himself, in "calling them into being." Richard Rush, in writing to him from London, in 1825, where he was then our Minister, justly criticises the arrogant self-laudation of Mr. Canning on this subject, — which Earl Grey had only ridiculed as a "frivolous and empty boast," — and says: "If Earl Grey had been better informed he would have said that it was *you* who did most to call them into being. . . . The South Americans owe to *you*, more than to any other man in either hemisphere, their independence, — you having led the way to our acknowledgment of it. This is truth, — this is history. Without our acknowledgment of it, England would not have taken the step to this day." Mr. Clay was thus ready and resolved, on assuming the portfolio of Secretary of State, to enter into treaties with these new republics at the earliest moment, and Mr. Adams was no less resolved and ready for such a step.

Retiring from public service at the close of Mr. Adams's administration in 1829, Mr. Clay now returned to his Kentucky home and to his lawyer's office at Lexington. His health, however, had of late been by no means satisfactory. Indeed, as early as April, 1828, Mr. Adams is found saying in his recently published Diary or Memoirs: "Mr. Clay told me that the state of his health was such that he should be compelled to resign his office. It was becoming impossible for him to discharge its duties, and he could not consent to hold an office without discharging its duties. . . . His weakness was constantly increasing. His disorder is a general decay of the vital powers, a paralytic torpidity and numbness, which began at the lower extremity of his left limb, and from the foot has gradually risen up the leg, and now approaches the hip. . . . Governor Barbour and Mr. Southard spoke of the condition of Mr. Clay's health, and Mr. Southard said he doubted whether he would live a month longer." It is not surprising, therefore, to find him opening his first speech in the Senate of the United States, after his return to Washington, in January, 1832, by saying: "I am getting old. I feel but too sensibly and unaffectedly the effects of approaching age." But he had then hardly reached his fifty-fifth year. Great efforts were still before him, and he was soon involved in some of the most momentous and exciting controversies of his life. His speeches on "The American System," on the distribution of the proceeds of the Public Lands, on the rechartering of the United States Bank, on the removal of the Government Deposits from that Bank, on the Sub-Treasury Scheme, and on other important measures of public policy, domestic and foreign, followed each other at no long intervals between 1832 and 1842, showing no diminished power or flagging energies, and now filling a whole volume of his collected works. But, early in this period, he signalized himself especially as the proposer and advocate of what is known historically as "The Compromise Tariff of 1833," when he brought his marvellous parliamentary skill and practical tact once more to the rescue of the peace of the country, and the prevention of civil war.

It was the period of South Carolina Nullification, and although Webster's immortal reply to Hayne, and General Jackson's grand Union Proclamation, had left no doubt on which side the weight of argument and the preponderance of power were to be found, South Carolina was neither convinced nor intimidated, and there was serious reason for apprehending that she and some of her sister Southern States were willing and eager to plunge the nation into a rash and wanton conflict of arms. Whatever differences of opinion there may have been at the time, or may be still, as to the expediency of Mr. Clay's interposition, or as to the precise measure by which it was accomplished, history will never fail to bear witness to the patriotism, the skill, and the unsurpassed power, with which he devised and carried through his conciliatory policy in that emergency. In 1833, as in 1820, he was the Great Pacificator of the country. To him, certainly, more directly than to any other one man, the country was thus a second time indebted for the preservation of its domestic peace.

During the last two years of this decade, between the lamented death of President Harrison and the spring of 1842, Mr. Clay was incessantly engaged, in the Senate, in combating the course of President Tyler, who, as he maintained, had betrayed the party by which he was chosen Vice-President, and had taken advantage of an accidental succession to the Executive Chair to thwart and veto the very measures which he was virtually pledged to sanction. No one can recall those years without regretting the arbitrary and imperious spirit which Mr. Clay occasionally exhibited at that period, nor yet without admitting and admiring the masterly manner in which he led his party in Congress, from step to step, and from day to day. If his indignation sometimes got the better of his discretion, there are those who think that it found ample apology in the circumstances of the case. But he became weary at last of so much ineffectual strife, and, on the 31st of March, 1842, he withdrew from the Senate, as he thought and said, "finally and for ever." In his Valedictory Address to the Senate, delivered on that day, which was quite a field-day, and certainly a most dramatic as well as historical occasion, he used the following apologetic language: "That my nature is warm, my temper ardent, my disposition, especially in relation to the public service, enthusiastic, I am fully ready to own; and those who suppose that I have been assuming the dictatorship have only mistaken for arrogance or assumption that fervent ardor and devotion which is natural to my constitution, and which I may have displayed with too little regard to cold, calculating, and cautious prudence, in sustaining and zealously supporting the measures of policy which I have presented and proposed." His frank and chivalrous bearing overcame his opponents, — he had no enemies to be overcome, — and both Congress and the whole country felt deeply that a great and almost irreparable void had been created in the National Councils. There was a general willingness at the instant that he should have a temporary rest and relaxation after such continuous and exhausting labors; but a growing and widening sentiment was soon manifested, in every quarter, that so much experience, ability, and patriotism could not be altogether spared from the public service.

And now, at last, Mr. Clay seemed to be in a fair way to receive that national recognition and promotion of which he had been so long ambitious, and which he so eminently deserved. He had, indeed, received the electoral votes of Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri, with four votes from the Electoral College of New York, as long ago as the Presidential Election of 1824; and again, in 1832, six States had cast their electoral votes for him, — forty-nine votes in all. But now, in 1844, he was formally nominated as the candidate of the great Whig Party of the United States, and with a Democratic candidate opposed to him, whose name was hardly remembered out of his own neighborhood, and who had little or nothing of personal weight or prestige in the nation at large. The result of the election afforded the first example, so often reproduced in later years, of the advantage enjoyed by a candidate who has said little, done little, and made few enemies, over one who has been constantly in the public eye, never shrinking from responsibility, and never failing to take a decided part in every controversy. Indeed, no more serious discouragement to great abilities and great services, as qualifications and recommendations for high office, was ever experienced than in the preference given to Mr. Polk over Mr. Clay in 1844. The country has never recovered from the pernicious influence of that example. Nor were the immediate practical consequences of the result less mischievous. The Mexican War, to name nothing else, was among the first fruits of Mr. Clay's defeat, and not a few of those who opposed him, on anti-slavery or free-soil grounds, saw too late what might have been prevented by his election.

The excellent Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, was the candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Mr. Clay. An extract from his letter to Mr. Clay, dated from New York, the morning after the election, Nov. 9, 1844, will afford a vivid and just idea of the impression produced by the result, as well as of the manner in which it was accomplished: —

> "MY DEAR SIR, — I address you this morning with very different feelings from my expectations a few weeks ago. The alliance of the foreign vote, and that most impracticable of all organizations, the Abolitionists, have defeated the strongest national vote ever given to a presidential candidate. The Whigs in this city and State have struggled most nobly. All classes of American citizens have ardently, cordially, and with the freest sacrifices, contended for your just claims to patriotic confidence; and could you this morning behold the depression of spirits and sinking of hearts that pervade the community, I am sure that you would feel, 'Well, in very truth, my defeat has been the occasion of a more precious tribute and vindication than even the majority of numbers.'

"The Abolitionists were inimically obstinate, and seemed resolved to distinguish their importance, right or wrong. The combination of adverse circumstances has often struck me in the progress of the canvass. At the South, I was denounced as an Abolitionist, rank and uncompromising. Here, the Abolitionists have been rancorous in their hostility. A short time since, William Jay (of illustrious name) assailed me in his Anti-Slavery prints, by a harsh, unchristian, and intolerant article, in the form of a letter addressed to me, but sent to the winds. Its object was, no doubt, to drive the party together, and it had, I suppose, some influence that way, although it was too bitter and irrational to accomplish much. And then the foreign vote was tremendous. More than three thousand, it is confidently said, have been naturalized in this city alone, since the first of October. It is an alarming fact, that this foreign vote has decided the great questions of American policy, and counteracted a nation's gratitude.

"But, my dear Sir, leaving this painful subject, let us look away to brighter and better prospects, and surer hopes, in the promises and consolations of the Gospel of our Saviour. . . .

"I remain, with sincere esteem and best wishes,

"Your friend,

"THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN."

John Quincy Adams, too, writing to Mr. Clay from Washington, on the following 4th of January, says as follows: —

"I have yet to acknowledge the receipt of a very kind and friendly letter from you, written shortly before the unexpected and inauspicious issue of the recent presidential election. It has been, on many accounts, painful to me; but on none more, or so much, as on the dark shade which it has cast upon our prospects of futurity.

"I had hoped that under your guidance the country would have recovered from the downward tendency into which it has been sinking. But the glaring frauds by which the election was consummated afford a sad presentiment of what must be expected hereafter. We must hope that a merciful Providence will yet preside over the destinies of our country, and avert the calamities with which she is threatened."

Mr. Clay remained in contented retirement for four or five years after this defeat, but, in 1849, he suffered himself to be once more elected to the Senate of the United States, and took his seat in that body again as a member of the Thirty-first Congress. That brave old soldier and sterling patriot, Zachary Taylor, had just then been inaugurated as President, and the great controversies connected with the admission of California as a State, the organization of the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, and the Fugitive Slave Law, were close at hand. Mr. Clay was now on the verge of the seventy-third year of his age, and might have been pardoned for assuming the *rôle* of an adviser and counsellor, rather than that of a leader in debate. But it was not in his nature to spare himself, or to play a second part. He could not see a difficulty without making an attempt to solve it, and he always preferred to propose measures of his own, rather than to fall in to the support of what had been devised and concerted by others. There were those among the public men of that day who believed, and there are some who still believe, that if he had looked with more favor on the policy of General Taylor, and had found it consistent with his own convictions to lend his powerful and preeminent influence to the support of that policy, the country might have been carried through the crisis which was upon it with less agitation and less turbulence, and that fewer questions might have remained to excite and exasperate the contending sections of the Union.

But no one will question the earnest patriotism which governed his course, or fail to appreciate the ability, energy, and eloquence, which he displayed in this last great controversy of his life. The old fire was once more kindled in his veins, and, looking back to the days when he had saved the peace of the country in 1820, and again in 1833, by masterly measures of compromise, he did not doubt for a moment that it was reserved for him still again to invoke successfully a spirit of conciliation and concord, and to arrange a scheme of adjustment which should not only avert the dangers of civil war at the moment, but leave all vexed questions in a safe and settled state for the future. The bill which he prepared for this purpose, and which embraced under a single enacting clause, the admission of California as a State, with Territorial organizations for New Mexico and Utah, without any Wilmot Proviso, or restriction as to Slavery, together with an arrangement of the disputed boundaries of Texas, — and which, from the variety and multiplicity of its provisions, was derisively known as "The Omnibus," — failed of its passage in the form in which it was originally presented. It was taken to pieces, bit by bit, in the Senate, until nothing but Utah remained of it. But the scattered fragments were gathered up separately in both branches, and were finally enacted. With them, or immediately after them, the Fugitive Slave Bill, also, but not in the form or with the provisions which he had proposed, became a law. Not one of the great leaders of parties in the Senate voted on that bill. Calhoun was dead. Webster was in the State Department. The names of Cass, Benton, Douglas, Dickinson, and Seward, are absent from the roll. Mr. Clay himself did not remain in Washington to take part in the passage of this measure, or to witness the successive steps by which his measures were finally adopted. He had overtasked his strength in battling for them in the aggregate, during the winter, spring, and midsummer heats, of that memorable session; and, as soon as the fate of his original Bill was sealed, he resorted to Newport to repair his exhausted energies. Not, however, until he had made a speech which will be noticed presently. He returned before the close of the session, and was again in his seat during the following session. Meantime, he had made a visit to Havana, and to New Orleans, in hope of shaking off his cough and reinvigorating his system. But he soon found himself disabled for taking further active part in the duties of the Senate, and sent in his resignation to take effect on the 6th of September, 1852. When that day arrived, he had been in his grave for more than two months, having died in Washington, on the previous 29th of June, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Mr. Clay, as we have seen, was associated distinctly and prominently, in his early political life, with the Democratic party of Jefferson and Madison; and even after the administration of President Monroe had ushered in what was called "the era of good feeling," and the old party lines were somewhat effaced, he would still have counted himself nothing but a Democrat. But new issues and new interests were developed by the war with England, and he soon became identified with the advocacy of a Protective Tariff, Internal Improvements, and the general policy which was designated by him as "The American System," and of which he was the acknowledged author and father. He was thus gradually alienated from many of his Democratic associates, or they from him, while he at once assumed a foremost place among those who, after bearing the name of National Republicans for a few years, became known to the country and the world as Whigs. Mr. Clay was, indeed, emphatically the leader of what is now spoken of historically as the Old Whig Party of the United States. Even Webster, with all the surpassing power which he brought to its support, could hardly at any time have contested the leadership with him, even had he been disposed to do so. Webster was, indeed, its local, New England, head and pride. But take the country through, — North, South, East, and West, — Clay was acknowledged and recognized as its chief. He was its candidate for the Presidency while it was yet in embryo, in 1832, and again, after it was fully fledged, in 1844. And though he failed of the nomination in 1839 and

1848, he was still the most influential member of the party by which General Harrison and General Taylor were elected Presidents of the United States. The witches might have whispered to Clay, as they did to Banquo, "Thou shalt make Presidents, though thou be none." Certainly, if the Old Whig Party is to have any individual impersonation in history, it must find it in Henry Clay of Kentucky, and by him, and his general principles and policy, it may well consent to be judged.

And what was this Whig Party which he led so gallantly, before disappointed ambition, and inconsiderate philanthropy, and headlong fanaticism, and secret "Know-nothing lodges," and corrupt coalitions, at one end of the Union, conspired with mad and monstrous schemes in the interests of African Slavery at the other end, — Kansas, Nebraska, and the rest, — to draw off so many of its members into new ranks, and doom it to a lingering death? What was the party of which Henry Clay and Daniel Webster were so long the shining lights, and of which Abraham Lincoln, to name no other name, was long one of the lesser luminaries? It was a Constitutional Union Party, which regarded the Union of the States, and the Constitution, as the only formal condition and bond of that Union, things to be reverenced and maintained at all hazards. It was a Law and Order Party, which tolerated no revolutionary or riotous processes of reform. It was a Party of principle and purity, which consented to no corruption or traffic as a means of securing office or success. It was a Conservative Party and yet a Party of Progress, which looked to the elevation of American labor, and the advancement of our national welfare, by a discriminating adjustment and an equitable collection of duties on imports, by an honest currency, by a liberal administration of the public lands, and by needful appropriations, from time to time, for the improvement of rivers and harbors. It was a Party of Peace, —

domestic peace and foreign peace, — opposed to every lawless scheme of encroachment or aggrandizement, at home or abroad, and studiously avoiding whatever might occasion internal commotion or external conflict. It was, above all things, a National Party, extending over the whole country, and systematically renouncing and repudiating all merely sectional organizations or issues.

Such a party could, of course, have no common creed or platform on the subject of African Slavery, as that was a subject then everywhere acknowledged to be utterly beyond the pale of constitutional legislation, and of which the regulation and the very existence were wholly within the reserved rights of the separate States. This was most signally affirmed even as late as 1861, — after Mr. Lincoln had been elected President by the Republican Party, — by solemn resolutions of a great majority of Congress, and even by the adoption of a proposed amendment to the Constitution, to give fresh emphasis and stronger enforcement to the original guaranties of that instrument. The abolition of Slavery, as we all know, could never have been legitimately accomplished by the nation, except as it actually was at last accomplished, — under the powers derived from the exigencies of war. But war, and especially civil war, was the evil of all others which Mr. Clay and the Whig Party were most earnest in deprecating, and most zealous in striving to avert.

Mr. Clay, however, though a Southern man, was, as he said openly, in the Senate and elsewhere, "no friend to Slavery." He recognized its wrongs from his earliest maturity, and rendered himself obnoxious to the popular indignation in Kentucky by vainly urging the adoption of a gradual emancipation clause in her first State Constitution in 1798, — a provision which he is well understood to have counselled anew on the revision of her Constitution as late as 1849–50. He gave noble utterance to his feelings on this subject, in 1827, in a speech at the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, of which he was so long the President, when he said: "If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it by foreign nations; if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State which gave me birth, or that not less beloved State which kindly adopted me as her son, — I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror."

And when, at last, in 1839, he felt constrained to take a stand in the Senate against the course of the Abolitionists of that period, he clearly manifested that the dangers to the Union, and the perils of civil war, were the considerations which inspired and controlled his course. "Sir," said he, "I am not in the habit of speaking lightly of the possibility of dissolving this happy Union. The Senate knows that I have deprecated allusions, on ordinary occasions, to that direful event. The country will testify that, if there be any thing in the history of my public career worthy of recollection, it is the truth and sincerity of my ardent devotion to its lasting preservation. But we should be false in our allegiance to it, if we did not discriminate between the imaginary and real dangers by which it may be assailed. Abolition should no longer be regarded as an imaginary danger. The Abolitionists, let me suppose, succeed in their present aim of uniting the inhabitants of the Free States as one man, against the inhabitants of the Slave States. Union on the one side will beget union on the other. And this process of reciprocal consolidation will be attended with all the violent prejudices, embittered passions, and implacable animosities, which ever degraded or deformed human nature. A virtual dissolution of the Union will have taken place, whilst the forms of its existence remain. The most valuable element of union, mutual kindness, the feelings of sympathy, the fraternal bonds, which now happily unite us, will have been extinguished for ever. One section will stand in menacing and hostile array against the other. The collision of opinion will be quickly followed by the clash of arms. I will not attempt to describe scenes which now happily lie concealed from our view. Abolitionists themselves would shrink back in dismay and horror at the contemplation of desolated fields, conflagrated cities, murdered inhabitants, and the overthrow of the fairest fabric of human government that ever rose to animate the hopes of civilized man."

Such were the prophetic fears and forebodings of as brave a statesman as ever breathed, in view of the attempt to array sectional parties against each other on the single question of Slavery; and the history of the last fifteen or twenty years has shown that they were by no means groundless fears or exaggerated forebodings. They were such as might well have weighed heavily on the heart of so ardent a patriot as Henry Clay, and they furnish an ample explanation of his untiring efforts in the cause of conciliation and compromise. Nothing could be more unjust than to stigmatize him as a Pro-Slavery man, or the Whig Party as a Pro-Slavery Party. There is not a shadow of truth in the charge that either that party or its great leader ever prostrated themselves before what was called the Slave Power. Individual members of the party, at the South or at the North, may have said or done things to give color to such a charge. But from its earliest organization down even to those last discouraging campaigns in 1852 and 1856 and 1860, when Clay and Webster were dying or dead, and when Winfield Scott and Millard Fillmore and John Bell and Edward Everett were successively its candidates for the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency, no such allegation against the Whig Party would have been just or true. It was the Constitution, the Union, and Peace as the best hope of both, which inspired their policy and actuated their course. Among the Whigs in the Free States there were men as earnest and as sincere in their hatred of Slavery and in their hopes for its ultimate extinction, as any of those who made louder professions and who hastened to unite themselves with distinctive Anti-Slavery parties; and even among its members in the Southern States there were not a few, like Mr. Clay himself, who would eagerly have joined in any measures looking towards gradual emancipation, which should not have involved the violation of the Constitution, the dissolution of the Union, and civil war. Mr. Clay's personal love of human freedom was recognized by William Ellery Channing — one of whose impressive sermons I took him to hear, at the old Federal Street Church, in 1833 — when he addressed to him his letter against the Annexation of Texas. It was recognized, too, by Joseph John Gurney, when he addressed to him his letters on Emancipation in the West Indies. He himself gave signal testimony to it, as we have seen, in relation to the Constitution of Kentucky, and in his devotion to that cause of Colonization, which Abraham Lincoln himself, while President of the United States, advocated and urged upon Congress and upon his Cabinet almost to the lamented end of his life. Nor should it be forgotten, in such a sketch as this, that, when the late William Lloyd Garrison was imprisoned in Baltimore, Henry Clay is understood to have made an immediate though unsuccessful effort to stand bail for his release.

Mr. Clay was a person of singularly fascinating address and magnetic qualities, attracting admirers and friends on every side. As he sometimes sauntered across the Senate Chamber, taking a pinch of snuff out of one friend's box, or offering his own box to another, he was a picture of affability and nonchalance. He had the genial, jaunty air of Lord Palmerston, whose peer he would have been as a Cabinet Minister or in Parliament, had he chanced to have been born an Englishman or an Irishman, instead of an American. Like Palmerston, he could sometimes be "lofty and sour," and sometimes even rude, towards those who opposed him. He was so to Josiah Quincy, in 1813, as Edmund Quincy reminded us in his admirable Biography of his father. He was so towards Albert Gallatin, in 1832, as Henry Adams has more recently reminded us in his excellent Life of that eminent statesman. He was so to Rufus Choate, in 1841, in my own hearing, in the Senate Chamber. But he was never slow in explanation and apology, and cherished no malice or resentment towards any one. In his valedictory to the Senate, to which allusion has already been made, he nobly said: "I may have often inadvertently or unintentionally made use of language that has been offensive, and susceptible of injurious interpretation, towards my brother Senators. If there be any here who retain wounded feelings of injury or dissatisfaction produced on such occasions, I beg to assure them that I now offer the amplest apology for any departure on my part from the established rules of parliamentary decorum and courtesy." He had the Western, or it might as well be called the English, taste for the turf. John Randolph dared to allude to him as a "blackleg," in contrast to the "puritan" Adams, in connection with the charge of bargain and corruption. A duel was the consequence, which Mr. Clay, as well as his friends, always regretted, though neither party was injured. Those were the days when English and American celebrities alike, Canning and Castlereagh and Wellington, as well as Hamilton and Clay and Decatur, unhappily yielded to what was called the Code of Honor. His favorite recreation for many years was a game of whist, to which, at one period of his life, he was passionately addicted, — not for the stakes, if there were any, but for the mere distraction and excitement of the game.

There is a tradition that while he was on a visit to Boston, in 1818, lodging at the old Exchange Coffee House in Congress Street, a servant rushed into the parlor, in which he was at the whist-table with a few gentlemen of the old school, and announced that the hotel was on fire. "Oh, there will be time enough, I think (cried Mr. Clay), to finish our game"; and finish it they did before the hotel was burned to the ground. A similar tradition was current in Washington at a later period, that while Mr. Clay was Speaker, he and his friends had passed a whole night at cards, and were still going on with their games when the hour was close at hand for the opening of the morning session of Congress. "Wait a few minutes, gentlemen," said Mr. Clay, "and I will wash my face and hands and run down to the House and call John W. Taylor to the chair, and then I will come back, and we will have another rubber." True or false, these stories have a characteristic flavor. Mr. Clay was a whole-souled man, who put his heart into whatever he set about. Whether it were a rubber of whist, or a canvass for the Presidency, or a compromise of contending sections, he was *totus in illis*. But, long before his death, I remember his saying that he had reduced his allowance of whist to a few hours on one evening of a week, when General Scott, and Bodisco, the hospitable Russian Minister, and perhaps Archer of Virginia, helped him to dispel the oppressive anxieties of the day.

He was one of the most frank and direct of men, — never concealing his opinions, nor ever shifting his course to catch a momentary breeze. He scorned to seek popularity or preferment by the non-committalism of which there was a great example in his day. Still less would he imitate those Alpine climbers who reach great heights only by following zigzag paths. A little more discreet silence, a little more "masterly inactivity," or a little more zigzag, would have carried him into the Executive Chair more than once. But he contented himself with the noble declaration, "I had rather be right than be President," and persisted in pursuing as straight a path as that Pontick Sea, whose "compulsive course," as Shakspeare says, —

> "Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
> To the Propontick and the Hellespont."

No one requires to be told that Mr. Clay was a great orator. There was no art in his eloquence. He was as natural and as grand as Patrick Henry or Daniel O'Connell. His prepared speeches were generally his least successful efforts. His works will not be consulted, like Webster's, for profound constitutional arguments or convincing logic, nor yet for brilliant metaphors or illustrations. He was eminently a man of action, and might be taken as an example of the old definition of eloquence by its greatest ancient master,— "action, action, action." There was a wonderful energy in all his utterances when they came from the impulse of the moment. He had a large heart, a dauntless courage, quick perceptions, a commanding stature, a lofty and chivalrous bearing, an almost incomparable voice, and when called out by some immediate exigency, or stirred by some immediate emotion, or stung by some personal imputation, no orator of our land or of our age was more impressive or more powerful. He was not a man of much study or of great accomplishments or of general reading. The only book I ever heard him speak of with special admiration was Carlyle's Cromwell. He was in raptures with that, and was reading it from day to day during the stress of the Compromise contentions of 1850, and he seemed to be whetting his courage upon its pages for the warfare in which he was so strenuously engaged. He found in it the record of a Will not more iron than his own, and recognized indomitable elements of character of which he could not have failed to be conscious. With a rich and ready command of language of his own, he was an infrequent quoter of other men's words or thoughts, and certainly no accumulator of elegant extracts for the adornment of his speeches. Indeed, he was proverbial for blundering over even the most familiar quotations from Shakspeare. The late George Evans of Maine, one of the ablest Senators ever sent to Washington by a State which may boast of a Peleg Sprague and a William Pitt Fessenden, or, indeed, by any other State in the Union, used to tell more than one amusing story of Mr. Clay's efforts in this line. "What is it," said Clay to him one day, "that Shakspeare says about a rose smelling as sweet — Write me down those lines, and be sure you get them exactly right, and let them be in a large legible hand." And so Mr. Evans having verified his memory, at Clay's request, by a resort to the Congressional Library, and having laid the lines in plain, bold letters on Mr. Clay's desk, —

> "What's in a name? that which we call a rose,
> By any other name would smell as sweet,"—

awaited the result. As the great statesman approached that part of his speech in which he was to apply them, there was an evident embarrassment. He fumbled over his notes for a while, then grasped the little copy with a convulsive effort, and at last ejaculated in despair: "A rose will smell the same, call it what you will." On another occasion he had fortified himself by recalling the exclamation of Hamlet, "Let the galled jade wince,"— but it was only after saying "unhung" and "unstrung" that, on the third attempt, and by the prompting of a friend, he made the Senate Chamber ring with the true words, "our withers are unwrung."

I have heard Mr. Clay often, in the forum and at the bar, in the Senate Chamber and in the Supreme-Court Room, as well as before larger or smaller popular assemblies; but I recall two occasions, widely different in character and widely distant from each other in date, which have left on my mind the deepest impression of that offhand, natural, impulsive eloquence in which he was without a rival while he lived.

One of those occasions, to which I have alluded already, was as long ago as 1833, just after the passage of his Tariff Compromise, and when he had visited Boston under somewhat peculiar circumstances. I was brought into daily association with him as Chairman of the Young Men's Committee of Reception, and the first speech I ever made, after leaving college, was to welcome him to our city. He had steadfastly refused to make any formal speeches himself, and it was only a night or two before his departure that his lips were unsealed. The young men of Boston had offered him a pair of silver pitchers as a token of their admiration, and it was my privilege to present them to him. We had the drawing-rooms of the Tremont House for the occasion, and there were assembled in them many of our most distinguished citizens. Webster was there, among others, but the illness of his wife, or some other cause, compelled him to retire before the ceremonies had commenced. Some things had occurred, moreover, which were confidentially communicated to me, to excite Mr. Clay's feelings, and to make him eager for the opportunity of giving expression to emotions which had been long pent up. There were no reporters, and only fifty or sixty hearers, all told. The rooms were not spacious. He had not a note for reference, nor had he contemplated any thing but the briefest and most formal acknowledgment of the gift. But, whatever had kindled it, "the fire burned, and he spoke with his mouth." No lava from a long-closed crater could have rushed in a more impetuous torrent, and he recalled to me at once John Adams's description of James Otis, as "a flame of fire." If walls ever had ears, according to the old proverb, those old ceilings of the Tremont House drawing-rooms would have been vocal and vibrating to the present hour with the utterances of that night. He described the considerations and circumstances under which he had introduced the Compromise Bill. He alluded emphatically to the opposition it had encountered in some New England quarters. He depicted the dangers of civil war which it had averted. He dwelt on the Union of the country as the best hope of freedom throughout the world. After the lapse of forty-six years, I dare not attempt to recall the precise words or thoughts which were addressed to me on that occasion. But the tones still ring in my ears, and I can only bear witness to an impressiveness of speech never exceeded, if ever equalled, within an experience of nearly half a century, during which I have listened to many of the greatest orators on both sides of the Atlantic, including Brougham and Peel, the late Lord Derby and Macaulay, Guizot, Thiers, and Gladstone.

The second occasion on which Mr. Clay's eloquence made so deep and lasting an impression on me was as late as the 1st of August, 1850, when I had the honor of being a member of the Senate with him. The Compromise Bill, which he had introduced, and for which he had battled so bravely for so many months, had been finally defeated in the Senate the day before, and a simple bill for the admission of California as a State was now under consideration. Wearied with work, exhausted by the heat, depressed by the failure of his cherished measure and by the apprehensions of danger for the country, Mr. Clay was just going to Newport for rest and recreation. But some expressions of a threatening character caught his ear, and on the instant he took the floor. Of this speech we fortunately have a running report in the "Congressional Globe," and the following extracts will give some faint idea of its character: —

"I wish only to say a few words. We have presented to the country a measure of peace, a measure of tranquillity; one which would have harmonized, in my opinion, all the discordant feelings which prevail. That measure has met with a fate not altogether unexpected, I admit, on my part, but one which, as it respects the country at large, I deplore extremely. For myself, personally, I have no cause of complaint. The majority of the Committee to which I belonged have done their duty, their whole duty, faithfully and perseveringly. If the measure has been defeated, it has been defeated by the extremists on the other side of the chamber and on this. I shall not proceed to inquire into the measure of responsibility which I incurred. All I mean to say upon that subject is, that we stand free and liberated from any responsibility of consequences. . . .

"Now, Mr. President, I stand here in my place, meaning to be unawed by any threats, whether they come from individuals or from States. I should deplore, as much as any man, living or dead, that arms should be raised against the authority of the Union, either by individuals or by States. But, after all that has occurred, if any one State, or a portion of the people of any State, choose to place themselves in military array against the Government of the Union, I am for trying the strength of the Government. [*Applause in the galleries, immediately suppressed by the Chair.*] I am for ascertaining whether we have got a Government or not, — practical, efficient, capable of maintaining its authority, and of upholding the powers and interests which belong to a Government. Nor, Sir, am I to be alarmed or dissuaded from any such course by intimations of the spilling of blood. If blood is to be spilt, by whose fault is it to be spilt? Upon the supposition, I maintain it will be by the fault of those who choose to raise the standard of disunion, and endeavor to prostrate this Government; and, Sir, when that is done, so long as it pleases God to give me a voice to express my sentiments, or an arm, weak and enfeebled as it may be by age, that voice and that arm will be on the side of my country, for the support of the general authority, and for the maintenance of the powers of this Union. [*Applause in the galleries.*]

"THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Order!

"MR. CLAY. Sir, I have done all, I am willing to do all, that is in the power of one man to do, to accommodate the differences of the country. I have not been attached to any given form of settling our troubles and of restoring contentment to the Union. I was willing to take the measures united. I am willing now to pass them separate and distinct. . . . But whether passed or not, I repeat the sentiment, if resistance is attempted to any authority of the country by any State or any people of any State, I will raise my voice, my heart, my arm, in support of the common authority of the General Government. Nor am I apprehensive of this idea, that blood is to be shed. From the bottom of my heart, I hope that it never will be shed. But if it is shed, who will be chargeable with the effusion of human blood? Those who attempt to prostrate the general authority, to raise the standard of disunion, and to destroy this Union by force. God knows I deprecate such an attempt. But if it occurs, I will be among the last who will give up the effort to maintain the Union in its entire, full, and vigorous authority.

"Sir, these threats are not so alarming and so dangerous as gentlemen in their imagination may suppose. We have had an event of the kind in our history. When Washington was our President, — now sixty years ago, — the standard of insurrection was raised in the western part of Pennsylvania. The army of the United States moved forward for the purpose of subduing it. . . . But the insurgents then — as disunionists and traitors always will — fled from the approach of the flag of the Union, supported by the authority of the Union, and countenanced by the Father of the Union."

Mr. Clay rarely, if ever, produced a stronger impression at once of his power and of his patriotism, than in the entirely impromptu speech of which these extracts give but the feeblest idea. They are sufficient, however, to show what side he would have taken in any rebellion against the Union, whenever it should have occurred, and to give ample warrant for the expression of a conviction, that, had he lived, in health and strength, until 1861, and had the Whig Party survived and been in possession of the Government, the Rebellion which then occurred, if it had not been altogether repressed and arrested, would have been crushed under his lead, as surely as it was crushed by the Party which was then in power, — even though the abolition of Slavery had been, as it proved to be at last, one of the necessities of the war. Indeed, it may safely be said henceforth, that the party in power, whichever and whatever it may be, will put down any rebellion which may arise in our land, from whatever cause or quarter, and will maintain the Government committed to its care, until, in the providence of God, that Government shall have been doomed to destruction. The Union never has depended, and never will depend, on the ascendancy of any particular Party. Washington, and the old Federal Party, as Mr. Clay said, put to flight the insurrectionists of Pennsylvania in 1794. Madison, and the old Democratic Party, would have effectively suppressed any rising in New England, in 1814, had the "Five Striped Flag" been any thing but a myth. The old Democratic Party, again, under President Andrew Jackson, in 1832, would have enforced and made good his memorable sentiment, — "The Union, it must be preserved," — had not Nullification been peaceably extinguished. The old Whig Party, with General Taylor, or with Fillmore, in the Executive Chair, and with Webster at the helm, would have been as sufficient for any rebellion at the North, — if the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law had involved the necessity of employing military force in other parts of the country besides Boston, — as President Lincoln and the Republican Party, happily proved themselves to be for the Great Rebellion at the South which it became their province to overcome. In other words, the people of the United States can be trusted to maintain, uphold, and defend their own institutions and their own Government, and will rally to their support in overwhelming masses, without distinction of party, as they did in 1861. It is an injustice to the people to claim the preservation of the Union at any time as a Party triumph; and such a claim tends only to throw doubt, at home and abroad, on its preservation hereafter.

Such, certainly, was the spirit of Henry Clay's noble defiance of parties and of sections, of individuals and of States, in 1850.

It was in fresh remembrance of the two speeches of Mr. Clay, which have thus been recalled, — the first and one of the last which I heard from his own lips, — that I used the following language in an address to the Alumni of Harvard University, in 1852, just after his death, which I may borrow in summing up this cursory account of him as an orator, and which will at least show that my judgment has not been newly formed: —

> "I deem it to be no disparagement to any one, among the living or the dead, to express the opinion that, for immediate power over a deliberative or a popular audience, no man in our republic, since the republic has had a name or a being, has ever surpassed the great statesman of the West, over whom the grave is just closing. His words will not be referred to in future years, like those of some of his contemporaries, for profound expositions of permanent principles, or for luminous and logical commentaries upon the Constitution or the Laws. But for the deep impressiveness and almost irresistible fascination of his immediate appeals, for prompt, powerful, persuasive, commanding, soul-stirring eloquence, upon whatever theme was uppermost in his large, liberal, and patriotic heart, he has had no superior, and hardly an equal, in our country's history. Owing nothing to the schools, nothing to art or education, he has furnished a noble illustration of what may be accomplished by the fire of real genius, by the force of an indomitable will, by the energy of a constant and courageous soul, uttering itself through the medium of a voice whose trumpet tones will be among the cherished memories of all who ever heard it, and which God never gave to be the organ of any thing less than a master-mind."

Any notice of Mr. Clay's personal qualities and character would be incomplete without some reference to his religious relations. He was an outspeaking man on this, as on all other subjects; and his own words and acts will afford the truest indication of his faith and feelings. His language in the Senate of the United States, in 1832, — when a joint resolution to call upon the President of the United States to appoint a National Fast, on account of the Asiatic Cholera, which had extended its ravages to our own Continent, had met with opposition, — may well be recalled first in this connection.

> "I am a member," said he, "of no religious sect, and I am not a professor of religion. I regret that I am not. I wish that I was, and trust that I shall be. I have, and always have had, a profound regard for Christianity, the religion of my fathers, and for its rites, its usages, and its observances. Among these, that which is proposed in this resolution has always commanded the respect of the good and the devout, and I hope it will obtain the concurrence of the Senate."

On the 29th of November, 1844, in the volume of his private correspondence, published some years after his death, we find the following expressions in a letter to a clergyman, who had written to offer him his sympathy on his defeat as the candidate for the Presidency: —

> "I am greatly obliged by the desire you manifest that I should seek, in the resources of religion, consolation for all the vexations and disappointments of life. I hope you will continue your prayers for me, since I trust I am not altogether unworthy of them. I have long been convinced of the paramount importance of the Christian religion. I have, for many years, fervently sought its blessings. I shall persevere in seeking them, and I hope, ultimately, to attain a firm faith and confidence in its promises. There is nothing for which I feel so anxious. May God, in his infinite mercy, grant what I so ardently desire."

Two years and a half after the date of this letter, on the 22d of June, 1847, the Parish Register of Christ Church, Lexington, Kentucky, has the following record: "Henry Clay, of Ashland, was baptized." And the Episcopal Register of the Diocese of Kentucky adds: "He was confirmed by the Rt. Rev. B. B. Smith, D.D., in the

Chapel of Morrison College, Lexington, on Sunday the 18th of July, 1847, and became a communicant."

The baptism of Mr. Clay, at so late a period of his life, is sufficiently explained by the fact that his father was a Baptist clergyman, who died when he was but four years of age, and that thus, belonging to a religious denomination which rejected infant baptism, and bereaved of the parent who would have cared for its administration in later years, his attention had not been awakened to the subject.

The Bishop of Kentucky, by whom he was confirmed, — the Right Reverend Benjamin Bosworth Smith, D.D., — is still living, in his eighty-sixth year, the Presiding Bishop of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. He was long a neighbor, and always an intimate friend of Mr. Clay, and I have recently had some interesting anecdotes of the great Kentuckian from the lips of this venerated prelate. He remembers well when Mr. Clay first expressed to him his desire to become a member of the Church, and to be admitted to its ordinances. In relation to his baptism, he remembers that immersion was offered to him, as conformable to the usages of his father's denomination, and not inconsistent with those of the Episcopal Church; but Mr. Clay replied at once, that he had no disposition whatever to stand upon forms, or to deviate in any way from the customs of the Church which he was about to join, and that he preferred to submit himself implicitly to the Bishop's discretion.

How far the death of his dear son, Colonel Henry Clay, Jr., at the battle of Buena Vista, a few months before, may have induced Mr. Clay no longer to defer fulfilling the desire he had expressed so many years previously, can be known only to the Searcher of all hearts. But from 1847 he was a communicant of the Episcopal Church, and a frequent worshipper at the Rev. Dr. Butler's

Church in Washington, where Webster of Massachusetts, and Berrien of Georgia, and Badger of North Carolina, and Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina, — to name no others, — were to be found at the Communion Table together from time to time. Dr. Butler attended Mr. Clay in his last illness, and published an interesting and impressive account of his partaking of the Lord's Supper a short time before his death.

And thus this great American Statesman left an example of faith, as well as of patriotism, more precious than all the services he ever rendered, or all the honors he ever enjoyed or coveted. In days like these, when so many influences are in the way of diverting both young and old from religious associations and ordinances, as well as from a just discharge of their political obligations, such an example of love of country and of belief in Christianity may well be commended to consideration.

I can close this imperfect sketch with nothing more appropriate than the concluding passage of a Eulogy on Mr. Clay, by his eloquent and admirable colleague in the Senate for some years, afterwards the Attorney-General of the United States, — John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, — a kindred spirit, of less ambition, but of hardly inferior power: —

"Glorious as his life was, there was nothing that became him like the leaving of it. I saw him frequently during the slow and lingering disease which terminated his life. He was conscious of his approaching end, and prepared to meet it with all the resignation and fortitude of a Christian hero. He was all patience, meekness, and gentleness; these shone round him like a mild, celestial light, breaking upon him from another world; —

"And, to add greater honors to his age
Than man could give, he died fearing God."

Henry Clay, born April 12, 1777, was married, in April, 1799, to Lucretia Hart, daughter of Thomas Hart, originally of North Carolina, and afterwards of Lexington, Kentucky. She was born March 19, 1781, and died April 6, 1864.

Their children were: —

1. Henrietta Clay, born June 25, 1800; died June 4, 1801.
2. Theodore Wythe Clay, born July 3, 1802; died May 5, 1870.
3. Thomas Hart Clay, born September 22, 1803; married Mary Russell Mentelle, daughter of French emigrants, who had been long settled in Kentucky; their living children are Henry B. Clay, Thomas H. Clay, who resides in Lexington, Kentucky, and Mary R. Clay: the father died March 18, 1871.
4. Susan Hart Clay, born February 14, 1805; married Martin Duralde of Louisiana, and had two children, of whom neither is now living; died in 1825.
5. Ann Brown Clay, born April 15, 1807; married James Erwin, and had six children, of whom none are now living; died November, 1835.
6. Lucretia Hart Clay, born February, 1809; died June 18, 1823.
7. Henry Clay, Jr., born April 10, 1811; married Julia Grather, October 10, 1832; and had three children. Of the two sons, Henry died while an aide-de-camp to the Union General Rousseau, and Thomas Julian died while an aide-de-camp to the Confederate General Buckner, during the late Civil War. The father was killed at the battle of Buena Vista, February 23, 1847. The daughter married Henry C. McDowell, and is living with a number of children.
8. Eliza H. Clay, born July 5, 1813; died August 11, 1827.
9. Laura Clay, born October 16, 1815; died January 5, 1817.
10. James B. Clay, born November 9, 1817; died January 26, 1864.
11. John M. Clay, the only surviving child of Henry Clay, born February 21, 1821; married Josephine Russell Erwin, has no children, and resides on a portion of the original Ashland estate of his father.

Ashland, the home of the illustrious statesman, is now owned by the Kentucky University.

JAMES LUCE KINGSLEY

James Luce Kingsley, Professor Emeritus of the Latin language and literature in Yale College, son of Jonathan, was born in Scotland, then a parish of Windham, Conn., August 28, 1778; died in New Haven August 31, 1852, a few days after he had completed his seventy-fourth year. During a service of more than fifty years as a college officer, he sustained a high reputation as a scholar and man of letters.

At the time he entered upon the duties of his professorship, soon after the beginning of the present century, Yale College, though one of the oldest and most important of the literary institutions of the country, had no permanent instructors, with the exception of the president. The term of service of the tutors, by whom alone the president was assisted in the work of teaching, was at most but four or five years. When Dr. Dwight was placed at the head of the college, one of the first things which he set himself to accomplish was the securing of permanent professors to assume the charge of the different branches of study. For this purpose he selected three recent graduates, one of whom was Mr. Kingsley. The other two were Jeremiah Day and Benjamin Silliman. These three all became eminent in the departments of instruction which were committed to their care; and as the result of their labors, the college gained a reputation as a place of liberal culture and exerted an influence in behalf of thorough education which was recognized throughout the country. For more than half a century, these three men labored together with the utmost harmony for the advancement of the college, in general accordance with the plan which had been originated by Dr. Dwight, and all these years were marked by constant and substantial progress.

The duties of Professor Kingsley led him to interest himself more particularly in the literary character of the college; and were therefore not of such a description as to place him so conspicuously before the general public as either of his distinguished colleagues. But Professor Thacher says, "No man has been more concerned in the internal progress of the college, step by step, from the comparatively low degree at which he found it, to the height at which he left it."

With regard to his qualifications for the chair which he so long filled, Professor Thacher says, "He brought to it uncommon mental endowments. He brought a literary taste, a love of thorough, substantial learning, united with a habit of great accuracy and exactness in its acquisition, a general appetite for the *nutrimentum spiritus*, which eminently fitted him for an academic life." Professor Thacher says also, "He was one of the main pillars of strength in the body of instructors. His learning, united with his ability to use his acquisitions and his powers with effect made him a great reliance, a general resource, so to speak, of the institution. He was a master in nearly every department, so that there was no branch of learning pursued in the college, except perhaps chemistry, which he could not, if occasion required, have taken up and carried on with credit. And even in the new and growing science of chemistry, although it may be doubted whether he could have undertaken with any success the manipulations of an instructor, he yet manifested a lively interest, attending the lectures, and watching the experiments, both public and private, of the pioneer in these pursuits."

Mr. Kingsley was appointed tutor in 1801; and after serving four years in this capacity was chosen Professor of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and of Ecclesiastical History. This chair he filled till 1831, when a separate professorship of Greek having been founded, his duties were limited to giving instruction in the Latin language and literature, although he continued to teach Hebrew for several years longer. In August, 1851, just fifty years after receiving his first appointment in the college, he offered his resignation, which was accepted by the corporation, who requested him to retain the nominal connection of a professor *emeritus*. The succeeding year he volunteered to take charge of an optional class, and read with them one of the classical authors with unabated interest; but soon after the Commencement of 1852, having been taken suddenly ill, death ensued in a few days.

Of what was accomplished in the college during his term of service, through his efforts, Professor Thacher says: —

> At the time Professor Kingsley entered upon his duties, candidates for admission to the Freshman class were examined in no Greek but that of the four evangelists, and the only Greek required during the college course was the remaining portion of the Greek Testament. The study of that language in the college was then chiefly fostered by the Berkeley annuity, to receive which it was necessary to pass a much more extensive examination in classical Greek. The requirements for admission to college were, so far as Latin was concerned, quite respectable. But the Greek language was studied very little; and it was this defect in the course of instruction which seems to have at first attracted the attention of Professor Kingsley. He very soon proposed to have the Iliad of Homer introduced as a text-book. There was some opposition, but finally his request was granted, so far at least as to allow him to hear any person to recite in the book *who chose to do so.*

In 1804 an edition of the Græca Minora, was published in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The next year after it was published, it was introduced as a text-book here, and studied by the first class which was admitted after Mr. Kingsley was appointed professor, that class having been required to pass an examination on the whole of the Greek Testament before admission to college. After this important beginning was made, the change was rapid. Not many years later the first volume of the Græca Majora was made a text-book in the classes; and this was followed, after an interval, by the second volume of the same work. These two large octavo volumes, containing copious selections from the best Greek authors, continued to be the text-books in Greek till after Professor Kingsley resigned his professorship of that language in 1831. It is believed that this work was first introduced into this country for the use of college classes by Professor Kingsley, and that the first class who used it in this college were supplied with copies imported from Edinburgh at his order. Before the death of Dr. Dwight, the Græca Minora and the Greek Testament were required for admission to college, — twice as much in quantity, and still more in quality, doubtless, than had been required for a degree, sixteen years before.

But improvements suggested and carried out by Professor Kingsley, aided by the wise counsel of his colleagues, were not confined to the department of the Greek language. Similar changes, though fewer, because fewer were demanded, were made in the Latin studies, both in those required for admission and those pursued afterwards. His services, however, in this department, aside from the influence of his exact and elegant scholarship, were of great value, especially in preparing editions of Latin authors for the press, for the use of the students. But in this connection the fact already mentioned should be borne in mind, namely, that, from first to last, there was no proficient in the languages above him or before him, whom he might consult, and thus obtain the guidance of another's experience in those branches of instruction, or the fruit of another's greater learning.

Nor did he enjoy those facilities of intercourse with foreign countries, which are now so common, which bring to our hands with so little delay all the most valuable results of European scholarship. Doubtless there are now thousands of persons in this country who are supplied with more valuable facilities for classical study than he enjoyed during the first twelve years of his labor here. But with this scanty supply of books, — a want which he deeply felt and repeatedly spoke of as a great trial, — with almost no society in his studies, and diverted, moreover, by the necessity of giving instruction in whatever other branches of literature or science his class might be pursuing, he yet secured a marked progress in this, as well as in the Greek department of classical studies.

I have said that Mr. Kingsley's attention was diverted from the proper studies of his professorship by his duties as a teacher of other subjects, especially of the various branches of mathematics. Although this is true, yet it was not without pleasure to himself or profit to the institution, that he performed these duties also. He carried into these studies the same wakeful mind, as ready to be interested in the facts and investigations of science and the skilful processes in mathematics, as in the more elegant pursuits of literature. A casual observer might even have thought mathematics a favorite department of study with him, nor would he have been entirely mistaken; for he acquired a fondness for them which he never lost. It is not strange, therefore, that he should have given similar evidence of his desire for the advancement of the institution in these severe studies, as we have noticed before in the languages. He was not alone in this department of instruction, it is true. There was a professor at its head, who, though engaged in instructing only the Senior and Junior classes, by lectures, yet, during the early period we are speaking of, prepared the series of books for the instruction of the students which is still in use in the college. Nevertheless, some valuable suggestions were made by Professor Kingsley, whose closer connection with the scholars in their daily recitations brought more constantly to his attention whatever defects might exist, and kept his mind on the alert to discover what substitutes there might be for those parts of the system which needed change. Thus the study of Euclid was introduced at his instance, though not without some opposition from the president, who thought the short course of geometry, contained in Ward's mathematics, sufficient.

Professor Kingsley was, moreover, the first person who, in this college, ever heard a class recite fluxions, except as that study was pursued as an optional one. His last service to the college, as a teacher, was rendered in assisting to examine in algebra some of the candidates for admission to the Freshman class at our last Commencement.

But the scope of the present notice does not allow the tracing of the career of Professor Kingsley as a college officer further, or the estimating the influences of his scholarship upon the institution in whose service he spent his life. The main object at the present time is to give an account of what he did in the department of history, and more especially American history.

Through life he was greatly interested in investigations of this nature, in the conduct of which he was fitted to excel from the fairness and impartiality which characterized him, his good judgment, his love of truth, and his accuracy. President Woolsey, who at the time of his death said that "in variety of acquirements and exactness of knowledge, he has scarcely been equalled among American scholars," adds that it always seemed to him that he was strongest in the department of history. For many years he gave a course of lectures to successive Senior classes, which were of the nature of a general introduction to studies of this kind. In this course was embraced the discussion of many of the questions of ethnology, philology, and chronology, which have since attracted so much attention. The impression which these lectures made upon the minds of those who heard them was such that even to this day there is frequently expressed the desire that they may be printed and given to the public.

The most important of his published contributions in the department of general history was drawn out by a discussion in which he became involved with the Rev. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, respecting some points in the accepted chronology. Dr. Jarvis was the author of a learned work, — a "Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church," — in which he claimed that a knowledge of the exact time of the birth and crucifixion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is of the utmost importance, as it is "the keystone by which prophecy, as well as history, must be sustained." In this volume he claimed that the dates usually assigned to these events are erroneous, and that he had himself fixed the precise dates. In supporting this view, he had found it necessary to attempt to prove that the commonly received dates for many of the contemporary events in Roman history, such as those of Cicero's consulship, Cæsar's expedition into Spain, the death of the Roman Emperor Augustus, were erroneous also. Professor Kingsley, in a series of articles published in the *New Englander*,* reviewed the book with such ability that it was acknowledged he had proved that the author had failed to establish his main position, on which his conclusion with regard to the precise date of the birth and death of our Saviour depended. The amount of special learning required for the preparation of these articles may be judged from a statement made by the editor of the *Church Review*,† that he had heard that "when the Chronological Introduction first appeared in England, the new American publication became the subject of conversation at a public dinner at Oxford, and the question was asked, 'Who shall examine it in one of the periodicals of the day?' The answer was given by one who had already been studying its pages, "There are but two men in England who are capable of reviewing it." It may not be out of place to mention in this connection, as an illustration of the breadth of learning of Professor Kingsley, that before writing his review, in order to satisfy himself with regard to the true dates of the eclipses that are said to have taken place about the time of the death of the Emperor Augustus, which have a decisive bearing on the question in dispute between him and Dr. Jarvis, he made himself the necessary astronomical calculations.

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* *New Englander*, April and October, 1847; July, 1848.

† *Church Review*, July, 1851, pp. 193, 194.

In American history, and particularly in the history of New England, Professor Kingsley was long an authority. In all that related to the history of his native State, Connecticut, it was said that there was no person living who was so well informed. On subjects of this kind he was constantly consulted by those who were interested in historical inquiries, and to such persons whatever information he possessed was freely communicated.

Among his published contributions in this department, the earliest was an address which he delivered in New Haven, April 25, 1838, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the first settlement of the town. At that time it was generally supposed throughout the country, and was even made a matter of frequent reproach, that there had been something in the early legislation of the New Haven colony which was absurd; that the strictness of Puritan rule had there been carried to its greatest excesses, and to an extent which was ridiculous. An explanation of the origin of this gross misapprehension is to be found in the geographical situation of New Haven, as the nearest of the New England colonies to the royal colony of New York. Naturally the partisans of the king, and the churchmen of that royal colony looked with suspicion and contempt upon the Republicans and Puritans of New England. But whenever they heard of New England, they thought of New Haven, that being the only one of the Puritan colonies about which they knew much or with which they had frequent dealings. Massachusetts and Plymouth were too far removed from their range of vision for anything about either of them, even though it were true, to remain long in their memories connected with those particular colonies. If they heard that in a former age sumptuary laws had been enacted anywhere in those distant regions, or laws with regard to tobacco, or laws in regulation of the dress of women, they soon forgot the locality, and fell into the habit of laying them to the charge of New Haven, which was the nearest colony, although no legislation of the kind was ever attempted there. So it came about that New Haven took the brunt of everything of the kind, and all the peculiarities of Puritan legislation anywhere in New England, and all the extravagant and even absurd stories which partisan malice set afloat, were credited to New Haven, which in reality was in its legislation the most free of all from what was peculiar. Professor Kingsley set in clear light the fact that New Haven had been founded by some of the ablest and noblest of the men who came anywhere to this country in the seventeenth century. They were merchants of character from London, men of wealth and men of affairs, who had seen much of the world in other countries. They had come to these shores with the idea of building up a commercial city and of laying the foundation of an independent State. In carrying out their designs, they built up a city which was at once known as the most beautiful on the American countinent. It was said at the time that the houses in Boston, compared with those in New Haven, made but a "poor show." With regard also to the legislation of the early colonists of New Haven, Professor Kingsley showed that they manifested a wisdom and a practical common-sense which are deserving of all praise.

Another of his published contributions in this department was a sketch of the history of Yale College, which was first published in the *American Quarterly Register*, for 1835. This did not profess to be a full history of the institution in all its departments, but the "sketch" presents, in very condensed form, all the important facts connected with its foundation and subsequent history.

It is still regarded as the most important published document respecting the college.

In 1845 Professor Kingsley prepared a memoir of Dr. Ezra Stiles, who was President of Yale College from A.D. 1777 to A.D. 1795. This was published in the sixth volume of the second series of Sparks's "American Biography." Dr. Stiles had the reputation in his day of being the most learned man in America, but the value of his services to the college was not generally understood. He came to the presidency at a very unfavorable period. It was not only that it was at the commencement of the Revolution, and that the carrying on of the college during all the dark days of the war devolved on him, but the institution had become so exceedingly unpopular throughout the State, in consequence of the attitude taken by President Clap in the times of the political agitation which followed the "Great Awakening," that it seemed impossible to raise the funds which were imperatively needed to maintain its character. To Professor Kingsley we owe the story of the long and disheartening efforts which Dr. Stiles made to regain for the college the confidence of those who had been alienated from it. The whole official life of President Stiles was a life of discouraging effort to accomplish this one object. There is, too, an element of sadness in the story of his career, for when, after fifteen years of disappointment, he succeeded so far as to obtain a grant of money from the legislature of the State for the benefit of the college, before he was able to make the disposition of it which he had in mind, he was taken away by death, and the opportunity was left to the distinguished man who succeeded him to reap the benefit of what he had accomplished, and to raise the college to the eminence which it soon attained.

In 1841 Professor Kingsley published* another contribution towards setting the history of Yale College in its true light, which he was led to prepare in consequence of some erroneous statements about its origin which had been made by President Josiah Quincy in his History of Harvard College. President Quincy, misled by the fact that Yale College was founded about the time that the long struggle was concluded which had gone on for years during the presidency of the Rev. Increase Mather, had inferred that the defeated party had sought to retain their influence in New England by setting up a rival college in Connecticut. The statements which he made to this effect were based on an evident misapprehension with regard to the relation of New Haven at that time to the rest of the colony of Connecticut, and to the relation to each other of the ecclesiastical parties then in existence. There can be little doubt that the founding of a college in New Haven was an important part of the original plan of the first settlers in 1638. It was one which had never been lost sight of, although it had been deferred for a time, partly in consequence of remonstrances forwarded from Massachusetts by the friends of Harvard College, who feared that a second college in New England might endanger its prosperity. There can be little room to doubt that the men who were really the original founders of Yale College were all of the "New Haven Jurisdiction," and were all what might be called New Haven men, and the college was founded in accordance with the ecclesiastical views which were held in New Haven as distinguished from the views of the "ecclesiastical establishment party" in other parts of the colony. It is a matter of history that the originators of the college had their own views with regard to its organization, which they carried out in opposition to those which were held elsewhere in Connecticut. If there were any persons in the colony who sympathized with any "disaffected party" that there may have been at that time in Massachusetts, there is no evidence that this was the case with the men who were the originators of the college and who controlled its policy. So complete was Professor Kingsley's proof that the founders of Yale College were in no wise prompted by any "disaffected party" in Massachusetts that for more than a generation this charge was never repeated. If within a year or two the statement has been made once and again, it is evidence only of the ignorance of those who are responsible for it.

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* *American Biblical Repository,* July and October, 1841; January, 1842.

It will appear from what has been said, and it is undoubtedly true, that a large part of what was written for publication by Professor Kingsley on historical, as well as more purely literary subjects, was of a controversial character. But it should be distinctly stated in this connection that this was from no love of controversy. Besides the more extended publications already referred to, he frequently wrote in the journals of the day on historical subjects, but it may be said that he never used his pen except to defend what he thought to be important truth. In this connection it may not be amiss to quote once more from what has been said by Professor Thacher: —

> His appetite for truth, unadorned truth, never abated. This was the spring of all his efforts at *criticism* and the secret of his power as a *critic*. He who through carelessness or design corrupted the truth, he who colored facts to sustain a theory, moved his indignation. His soul delighted in correcting such a man's errors; and yet not so much for the man's sake as for the truth's sake. The truth was abused when the world was taught to believe that which had no foundation in reality, and his nature suffered a distress till the error was corrected. He loved to show the world what truth was, and set it side by side with the error they were in danger of learning, to take the truth out of the charge of blunderers, or out of the false envelopments and leading strings of theorists, so to speak, and let it stand by itself in its own independence. And I might ask, who that has read the productions of his pen in the field of criticism, has not admired the clearness and steadiness and singleness

with which he addressed himself to his work, and proceeded step by step to the end, and how he with unthinking sincerity placed *himself* out of the field of view, and let the shafts of truth gain the whole victory? And in this he understood a secret of human nature, — that there is no victory like truth's. Her victories are final. A man may recover from abuse and insult and unfounded satire and exclamatory denunciation. But he who is shown to be at variance with the truth is *forever defeated.* Yet in such a contest for truth, satire and ridicule are not excluded. They are often the most effective, quick-moving, light arms of truth; but they are utterly valueless to an honest mind if their essence is not truth. Nay, they lose their power just in proportion as they are discovered to be at any remove from truth.

Mr. Kingsley's disposition was not to *say* that a man was in error, but to show that he was, not to *call* a man a careless or superficial student or observer, but to *show* that he was so. The severity therefore of his criticism, his satire, his ridicule, his wit, resulted from this element of truth. As another has so happily expressed it, his shafts were effective, not because they were poisoned, but because they hit the mark.

Professor Kingsley was also much interested in investigations of a genealogical character, and became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society March 15, 1847. His acquaintance with the history of the prominent families of Connecticut was very extended, and embraced even minute details with regard to individuals of different generations, whose characters he was able to illustrate by apposite and often amusing anecdotes. He never published any of his genealogical investigations, but he was often consulted by those who were engaged in work of this description. His interest, however, in the subject led him, while in England, to seek the acquaintance of the family which there bears his name, and for many years he maintained a correspondence with the Rev. Charles Kingsley of Chelsea, who, according to the statement made by his son, Canon Kingsley, in his lecture on Westminster Abbey, when he visited this country, was descended from an elder brother of the ancestor of Professor Kingsley, who came to this country about A.D. 1630; so that "while one brother was fighting in the parliamentary army, and helping to defeat Charles at Rowton Moor, the other brother was settling in New England to found there a whole new family of Kingsleys."

At the time that Professor Kingsley resigned his chair in 1851, he was requested by the corporation of Yale College to prepare an extended documentary history of the institution with which he had so long been connected, and with whose history, written and unwritten, he was so well acquainted. It is understood that he had determined to comply with this request, but his death prevented even the commencement of a work, to which all the friends of the institution had begun to look forward with interest.

Professor Kingsley was buried in the Grove Street Cemetery in New Haven, and the monument which was erected over his grave bears the following inscription, from the pen of his friend and successor, Professor Thomas A. Thacher: —

> "H. S. E. Jacobus Luce Kingsley, LL.D. in collegio Yalensi, cujus lumen fuit atque columna, Latinæ linguæ et literarum Professor, qui per totum vitæ cursum cultui deditus elegantium doctrinarum, ingeniosissimus in rebus reconditis et indagandis et exponendis, veritatis studiosissimus, justitiæ amicus. Dei cultor sincerus, quum ingenii, eruditionis, probitatis, modestiæ fama usque ad senectutem floruisset, mortem non repugnans obiit, a propinquis, collegiis, discipulis, aliis valde defletus, xxxi. die Augusti, Anno Domini MDCCCLII., muneris sui Academici li., ætatis lxxv."

The addresses given at the time of the death of Professor Kingsley by President Woolsey and Professor Thacher were published in a pamphlet, and subsequently a sketch of his life, with portrait, appeared in the *Congregational Quarterly*, April, 1863, Vol. V., p. 117, written by President D. C. Gilman of the Johns Hopkins University, and another by the same author in "Yale College," Vol. I., p. 224.

HENRY HOLTON FULLER

The subject of this memoir was born on the first day of July, 1790, at Princeton, Worcester County, Massachusetts. His father, the Rev. Timothy Fuller, a great-grandson of the Thomas Fuller who in 1638 had transplanted the stock from England to these wild shores, was the first minister of Princeton. He left the town at the outbreak of the Revolution because his parishioners could not endure to be told of the hazards they ran in promoting it. In that time of excitement, a lukewarm friend — and Mr. Fuller shared their political principles — seemed to the fervid patriots an enemy. At the close of the war, which, once begun, Mr. Fuller had supported, he returned to Princeton, and his old opponents were so completely reconciled that he was actively employed in town affairs, its historian says, showing that he had qualities that commanded a respect and interest that his independence could not permanently alienate. This independence he showed again when, as a member of the State Convention to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution, he voted against it because it recognized slavery.

Mr. Fuller did not resume charge of the parish after his return to Princeton, but busied himself with his large farm, which embraced Wachusett Mountain, and with the education of his children. His family was large, consisting of five boys and as many girls. All the boys became lawyers; one, however, took the sensible precaution to amass a handsome competence in business before joining the bar. Their mother, who is said by a grandson to have been a woman "of vigorous understanding and honorable ambition, which she strove to infuse into her children," was the daughter of the Rev. Abraham Williams of Sandwich in this State. Her name was Sarah. In 1796 Mr. Fuller removed to Merrimack, New Hampshire, where he continued until his death in 1805, occupied as before in farming and teaching his children. He fitted his eldest boy for Harvard College, of which he himself was a graduate; and his third son and eighth child, Henry Holton, — Mr. Fuller's mother had been a Holton, — was eager to go to college also, with the object of fitting himself for the legal profession.

Henry was encouraged in his wishes and enabled to carry them out by the liberality of his eldest brother, Timothy, who at their father's death had already made himself a place at the bar. Henry, then fifteen years old, assisted for a time in carrying on the farm, but in December, 1806, began to prepare for college, with only an occasional lesson from a neighboring minister, and entered Harvard at the following Commencement.

He found himself in some respects inferior to his classmates, who had had greater advantages; and to supply his deficiency he passed the first winter vacation, then a long one, at Dedham, under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Joshua Bates, afterward president of Middlebury College. After his return to Cambridge the young student showed his superiority to most of his fellows by gaining the rank of second in his class, that of 1811, in which there was no lack of ability. The first scholar, Mr. Edward Everett, with a few classmates, established in their Senior year a semi-monthly literary magazine, called the "Harvard Lyceum," to which Henry H. Fuller contributed Greek and Latin verse and English prose. He wrote on "Mathematical Learning," calling it "an inexhaustible source of entertainment and novelty"; on "Sound"; on "The Probability of the Return of the Dark Ages," denying that there was any danger of such a return; and on "The Celebration of American Independence," criticising the usual manner of commemorating that event, and also some of the recent orations in its honor. Among the other chief contributors to the periodical were the future doctors of divinity, Nathaniel L. Frothingham and Samuel Gilman.

Mr. Fuller passed the first year after leaving college in teaching in the academy at Exeter, New Hampshire; and he enjoyed and felt the influence of the intellectual society of the place. In September, 1812, he went to Litchfield, Connecticut, to attend the law school there under the charge of Chief Justice Reeve and Judge Gould, then the only school of the kind in the United States, where he found pleasure and profit, not only in the teaching of those eminent lawyers, but through his intercourse with the many students drawn there from all parts of the country, not a few of them differing conspicuously from the New England type of man with which he had been familiar. Having spent a year in Litchfield, he entered the office of Messrs. Bleecker & Sedgwick, a leading law-firm of Albany.

His intention of practising law in the State of New York was given up in consequence of an invitation to return to Boston, and, after finishing his studies in his brother Timothy's office, to become a partner there. This kindness he in time repaid by taking that brother's son Richard into partnership. Henry always took an interest in young men of desert struggling for an education, and more than once assisted strangers as he had been assisted by his brother, lending them money, besides inviting them to his house to receive encouragement and friendly counsels. At this time there was a law club in Boston, composed of the elder students and younger lawyers, which met weekly to discuss legal questions; and he was soon, a contemporary says, "confessedly at the head" of this club.

On September 19, 1815, Mr. Fuller was admitted to the Suffolk bar, which has always been distinguished for its ability, and at once became so actively engaged in professional business that five years afterwards he was said to have tried more causes than any man of his age in the commonwealth. This early success was no doubt due in a great measure to his association with his brother, who in 1817 was sent to the United States House of Representatives, and continued there until 1825, two years after the dissolution of their partnership, so that the work of the firm must have fallen largely on Henry's shoulders.

Mr. Fuller's professional brethren have put on record their judgment of his character as a lawyer. At a meeting of the Suffolk Bar, called to show their respect to his memory, Mr. Sidney Bartlett presided; and addresses, which unfortunately have not been preserved, were made by him, by Mr. E. H. Derby, and by three of Mr. Fuller's former students, — the Hon. John A. Andrew, the Hon. William Brigham, and the Hon. Charles T. Russell. One of the resolutions offered by Mr. Russell, and adopted, "deplores the loss of one, who for more than thirty-six years has been an honorable, active, and influential member of our bar; whose ability secured respect and confidence, and whose character won esteem and love; who united to a strong and logical mind a clear and quick apprehension, an accurate and varied learning, and eminent professional attainments; who by the faithful pursuit of duty, as well as by his kindness of heart, courtesy of manner, and exemplary life, has left an example which we treasure and commend; and one whose decease deprives the bar of a leading and valued member, and the community of an honored and faithful citizen." The Hon. Charles G. Loring was selected to present the resolutions to the Supreme Court, and he did so with remarks which, together with Judge Fletcher's reply and the resolutions, may be found at length in the "Monthly Law Reporter" for October, 1852, page 354.

"As manly honesty and contempt of hypocrisy were leading traits in the character of Mr. Fuller," Mr. Loring promises to forbear "to give exaggerated coloring to the brighter features of his character or position, or to conceal their shade." This promise, the frankness which follows it, and the speaker's agreement with other estimates of that character raise Mr. Loring's appreciation above a mere eulogy and give it proportional weight.

His opinion of his deceased friend's characteristics as a lawyer may be thus condensed: He had "untiring and boundless mental activity," and his faculties appeared always fresh and in full play. A comprehensive and accurate memory enabled him to pour out his stores of useful and interesting knowledge with "an ease, freedom, and abundance, often surprising to those of more limited powers of acquisition. . . . His logical acumen was hardly less conspicuous. . . . Had the soundness of his judgment been greater, or his ingenuity less, there would seldom have been cause to question the accuracy of his opinions." This ingenuity was the most striking faculty of his mind. "It constituted an intellectual crucible, not indeed for separating discordant materials, or dissolving affinities, in order to a clear analysis or discriminating selection, but for fusing them into a mass in support of the hypothesis to be sustained, in the nature of which he himself was often deceived, and which baffled the power of his antagonist to melt or break."

Another characteristic was "a ready wit, enabling him to expose pretence and nonsense in broad caricature, and to hurtle upon his adversary the shafts of raillery and sarcasm, when other weapons failed, or when instigated to retaliation for any actual or supposed slight upon himself or his case; and this weapon, dangerous in the hands of the most self-possessed and considerate, sometimes unfortunately in his, inflicted wounds which continued to fester long after the conflict was forgotten by him, in the kind and genial feelings which were the natural elements of his regard for others. But it was only in the conflict that the flash of the scimitar was seen or its edge unkindly used. In social and domestic life and friendly intercourse, his playful humor was always used to amuse or interest, and never to wound."

If there was "any obvious deficiency in his intellectual endowments, it was in the want of imagination. . . . He lived wholly in the world as one in which everything worth attaining or knowing must be found in the actual reality of what has been or what now is, or in its capability of present or future application to the business of life; and the want of this power, while it limited his circle of intellectual and spiritual enjoyment, also, doubtless, rendered him less able to understand the idiosyncracies of others, and to enter into that sympathy with their peculiarities of thought and feeling to which the natural tenderness of his heart would otherwise have prompted him."

"His legal knowledge was thorough and extensive. The axioms and principles of law were as familiar to him as household words, and ancient and modern decisions were fresh in recollection; while his readiness of acquisition, unremitting industry, and tenacious memory enabled him to master all the adventitious knowledge of science or fact which his case required."

His "undaunted courage, rendering him fearless, I might almost say reckless of consequences in the utterance of his convictions and the vindication of the supposed rights of his clients or himself, was sometimes, perhaps, too plainly evinced even in the halls of justice and legislation; and united, as it was, with an excitable temperament, doubtless formed one of the main sources of that indomitable energy, rendering him capable of a great accomplishment, and at the same time exposing him sometimes to errors which men of less bravery or greater self-command would have escaped."

"He was scrupulously honorable and conscientious in observance of all those obligations to the court and his brethren at the bar which are essential to the security and dignity of the profession," and he made studious use of every opportunity to impress on his students a due sense of that dignity, and of their moral responsibilities as lawyers. His intercourse with his students was also marked "not only by a general urbanity and desire to conciliate their good will and respect, but still more by his friendly interest in their feelings and professional prospects and aspirations."

Judge Fletcher, before ordering the resolutions of the bar to be recorded, paid a tribute to Mr. Fuller's character, speaking, among other things, of his "great buoyancy of spirits and unwavering self-reliance. No opposition could daunt, and no defeat or disappointment could dishearten him. He always came to the forensic conflict full of hope and full of courage, and well furnished with all the armor which indefatigable diligence and talent could supply. No man could be more faithful and devoted to his clients than he was." He had "great quickness of apprehension and readiness in reply." "In some of his more recent arguments, which are now in my memory," said the judge, "he seemed to me to discover peculiar and uncommon ability." His arguments showed "extensive research and a diligent and discriminating examination of the authorities." His wit and sarcasm, not always regulated with sufficient care, frequently caused ill-feeling where no offence was meant, for he was kind and generous. "It was by his fair and liberal and honorable course of life and practice that he won the high confidence, esteem, and respect of his brethren, which are expressed in the resolutions."

Mr. Fuller's practice, though always large, was not in his maturity so extensive, Mr. Loring says, as his great ability and industry gave him a right to expect, or as in in his youth had been "universally anticipated." Free expenditure and unfortunate investments prevented his accumulating property. One of his ventures, though failing to reward him, was of great and permanent benefit to Boston. He was a prime mover in the South Cove Corporation, which between 1834 and 1837 added more than seventy acres to the habitable area of the city by filling in the cove to the eastward of the present Harrison Avenue and to the southward of Essex Street. He was an advocate of railroads in their infancy, and drew the charter of the first in Massachusetts, except that to the Quincy quarries. He was one of the first victims, too, of a railroad accident. Driving with his wife in Newton, a day or two after the opening of the Boston and Worcester Railroad, his chaise was struck by a train and his collar-bone was broken, while Mrs. Fuller received still more serious, though not fatal, injury.

Mr. Fuller's intercourse while at Exeter with some of the eminent New Hampshire Federalists helped to make him of their political way of thinking, and after the extinction of the Federal party he became a zealous and influential Whig, though considerations of business and health kept him from appearing often in public life. He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1824, and again in 1828, when he was put at the head of the Committee on Probate and Chancery, and later succeeded the Hon. Francis Baylies — who resigned to accept a foreign appointment — as chairman of the Judiciary Committee. That important post he held again when re-elected to the House in 1832. At that time he founded the "Atlas" newspaper, which became a leading Whig organ in New England. He was not, however, its editor, and his pecuniary interest in it ceased in 1835. Proposed changes in legal practice drew him from his long retirement in 1851. He served in the House of Representatives that year and the following, the last of his life.

Mr. Fuller was "remarkably ready and able in debate," Judge Fletcher tells us; and Mr. Loring, speaking to the same effect, adds that "the resources of general and local information with which his mind was stored, seasoned with his happy humor, always secured for him a willing audience."

An engrossing profession left him little leisure, but, seeking rest in change of occupation, he did not limit his intellectual activity to legal and political subjects. In theology and its dry controversies "he was remarkably well versed, . . . his knowledge of history and of English classical literature was accurate and extensive," and he was familiar with the various systems of mental philosophy. Mr. Loring is again our authority. The favorite study of Mr. Fuller's later years was Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities. Egypt particularly excited his eager interest. The hieroglyphics were first deciphered in his early manhood, and he followed with enthusiasm the progress of discovery through the pages of the two Champollions, Young, and Wilkinson. He delivered a lecture or two on this subject before the Concord Lyceum, and provided large drawings to make his descriptions clearer, — a practice much less common then than now. Another, probably the only other, purely literary production of his was an address before the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1823.

His interest in genealogy, which led him to join this society, as resident member, September 5, 1851, was always apparent. If a stranger was spoken of in Mr. Fuller's presence, he was prompt to ask about his family connections, and with those of his own acquaintances he was familiar. Not long before his death he gathered the descendants of his parents around the ruins of their dwelling in Princeton, and, after a careful examination of the site and its surroundings, a prayer was offered to the God of their worship.

Mr. Fuller's conviction of the truth of revelation was decided, and he was an active member of the religious societies to which he belonged. He was an earnest Unitarian of the school of Channing and Gannett, and listened to their preaching until he thought that he could do more for his faith by work in parishes not so firmly established. He joined the Rev. Frederick D. Huntington's society for a time, and later worshipped at Hollis Street. While there he took a leading part in securing the Rev. Thomas Starr King as pastor, and was much attached to that brilliant preacher. Mr. Fuller was not only interested in parish affairs and a regular attendant upon Sunday services, but he taught a Bible-class for many years, and, still more, he squared his life by the precepts of his religion.

His home was very happy. He married, August 27, 1826, Miss Mary Buckminster Stone, of Framingham. Her ancestors, on both sides, were among the first settlers of that town and had continued prominent in its affairs. Mr. Daniel Stone was her father; and his wife, Sally, was a daughter of Major Lawson Buckminster, whose sister Ann was Mr. Fuller's maternal grandmother. He had but two children,—a daughter who died in early infancy, and another, Mary Buckminster Stone, a very attractive girl and woman. She was born July 29, 1838, married Mr. David West Cunningham November 3, 1859, and died June 29, 1869, leaving three children, Andrew, Mary Fuller, and Henry Fuller, who are all living.

Mrs. Fuller was an affectionate and helpful companion;

energetic, but gentle and womanly, she made their home attractive to her husband and his friends. His eldest sister was an inmate of his house for many years; and during one winter his gifted niece, Miss Sarah Margaret Fuller, afterward Madame Ossoli, lived there also.

At home and in society Mr. Fuller was vivacious and good-humored. He did not allow diversity of opinion to offend him, and turned the edge of his wit away from his friends. His talk flowed in a copious, unforced stream, carrying a freight of entertaining instruction, drawn from books, reflection, and experience; and the experience of a lawyer in active practice is interwoven with that of many men.

All his married life Mr. Fuller resided in a house that he built at the southwestern corner of Avon Place and Central Court. Around him were the homes of the leading men of the city. Trade, then in possession of Washington Street, had not invaded Summer and Winter, Chauncy, Bedford, and West Streets. Franklin Place retained its central green, surrounded by comfortable houses; and Temple Place, reached from Washington Street by several steps, was occupied by dwellings of the wealthy and well-to-do.

Mr. Fuller was a well-known figure in the streets, for he clung in age to the fashions of his youth. He wore a white cravat and ruffled shirt, and a blue coat ornamented with bright buttons, sometimes topped by a short spencer in cold weather. His hat was beaver, and the fur was brushed the wrong way until his daughter, with a child's sensitiveness to ridicule, persuaded him in his last years to abate that eccentricity. He was of middle height, and dark complexion, with keen black eyes, and black hair that time changed to iron-gray.

Mrs. Fuller died of consumption June 19, 1852, when only forty-eight years old; and her husband soon felt the renewed attacks of a mysterious disease, from which he had previously suffered, and which had baffled the penetration of more than one physician, steadily but painlessly sapping his life. He went to Northampton for a time, and then to the house of a brother-in-law in Concord, Massachusetts, where, after a few weeks, his illness, which proved to be scirrhus stomach, ended fatally on the 15th of September, 1852.

Almost his last public appearance was, as spokesman of the Suffolk Bar, to move the Supreme Court to enter on its records resolutions of respect to the memory of an eminent professional brother, Mr. Benjamin Rand. This was on the 28th of April; and on the 18th of September, that Bar gathered again, now to notice appropriately Mr. Fuller's own death; and those proceedings took place which have been repeatedly quoted.

His address upon Mr. Rand is preserved in the "Monthly Law Reporter" for May, 1852, and also in a sketch of Mr. Fuller's life, contained in a rare book entitled "Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Americans now living," by John Livingston, New York and London, 1853. 8vo. Although it appeared after his death, the memoir of Mr. Fuller was prepared during his life, and probably from information supplied by him, as his portrait — a good likeness, engraved on steel — was executed for an illustrated edition of the work, and many copies of the engraving were found among his effects, showing that he had been in communication with the editor or publishers of the book. The illustrated edition, which appeared under a slightly different title, viz., "Portraits of Eminent Americans now living: With biographical and historical memoirs of their lives and actions," is in the Boston Public Library. It contains the same memoir, about twelve pages in length, as the earlier unillustrated edition, of which the Boston Athenæum has a copy. That memoir, its correctness having been confirmed by the recollection of surviving friends and in other ways, has been freely used in the preparation of this notice of Mr. Fuller; but the judgment of his contemporaries, who practised in the same courts and were in frequent intercourse with him, is a better authority for forming a just estimate of his character, and it is not included in Mr. Livingston's sketch. Another source of information, principally relating to his forefathers and relatives, is a contribution to the Register of this society for October, 1859 (p. 351), by his nephew, the Rev. Arthur B. Fuller. It is called "Historical Notices and Genealogy of the Fuller Family. By a Descendant." It has been printed separately, and is so accessible that Mr. Fuller's genealogy has been treated summarily here.

JAMES WHITCOMB

James Whitcomb was a grandson of Asa Whitcomb, who was a native of Massachusetts, where he married Joanna Raymond. They were among the pioneer settlers at Stockbridge, Vermont, about the time of the French war, and they had four sons and two daughters: viz., John, of whom hereafter; Chapman, who married in New England; Philo, who emigrated to the West and died there, leaving three children; Anthony, who emigrated in 1806 to Ohio, and settled near Cincinnati, where he died during the first winter after his arrival, leaving two sons and four daughters, all of whom married and had children; and Rhoda, who married Dean Briggs, and has descendants living at Rochester, Vermont.

John Whitcomb, the son of Asa Whitcomb, married Mary Parmenter, whose mother's name was Hayden; both of her parents were from Connecticut. They had eleven children: viz., John; Asa; Susannah; James, of whom hereafter; David, who became a clergyman; Almira; Simon; Lydia; Joanna; and two that died in childhood. They emigrated in 1806 to Ohio, and settled near Cincinnati.

James Whitcomb, the son of John, was born at Stockbridge, Vermont, December 1, 1791, and was taken to Ohio with his father when a lad. There he grew into manhood, amid the hardships and excitements of pioneer life, so well calculated to develop energy, integrity, and perseverance. It required a great amount of hard labor to clear away the heavy forest growth preparatory to the agricultural improvement of the land, and fortunate was the settler who owned a log-cabin, a cleared cornfield, a horse, a cow, and a rifle. Bear, deer, wolves, mink, wild turkeys, and partridges were abundant, and peltries or skins were the common rural currency, collected by the keepers of country stores, and sold to travelling fur-traders.

Young Whitcomb was self-educated. After having acquired the rudiments of the English language, he thought that he would study medicine, and, walking to Cincinnati, he entered the office of a physician, stated his desire, and requested the loan of "a doctor's book." The physician, pleased with the lad's intelligent appearance, lent him a treatise on some professional subject, which was received with thanks. Returning home, young Whitcomb studied this work at night, and in the field while his plough-horse had occasionally to be rested, until he had mastered the contents. Again visiting Cincinnati, he called on the owner of the book, who examined him, and found to his surprise that he had become perfectly acquainted with it. He at once placed his library at young Whitcomb's disposal, but the industrious student soon discovered that his lack of classical education would prove a serious obstacle in the way of his acquiring a knowledge of medicine and surgery. He consequently, and with great reluctance, abandoned the study of medicine for the law. At the same time he qualified himself as a country-school teacher, and taught three successive winters in Kentucky, working in the field during the intervening summers. While thus engaged, he grappled with the fundamental principles of the law with wonderful industry and consequent success.

Mr. Whitcomb was in due time admitted to the bar, and in 1822 commenced practice at Bloomington, Indiana, where the Indiana Seminary, which in after years became the State University, had just been established. His first fee was a calf, and the young attorney walked from Bloomington to Columbus, a distance of forty miles, leading the animal by a cord, to sell it for a dollar and a half. He soon attained local distinction in his profession, and in 1826 was appointed prosecuting attorney for the Fifth Judicial Circuit. In 1830 he had so established himself in popular favor that he was elected State senator, which position he continued to occupy, by re-elections, until he was summoned to more important duties at the national capital.

At the bar and in the State Senate Mr. Whitcomb occupied a prominent position. His personal appearance was calculated to attract attention and to inspire respect. He was about five feet eleven inches in height, with a compact, well-knit frame, a swarthy Andalusian countenance, dark eyes, and long black hair. A diligent student, he possessed rich stores of general as well as legal knowledge, which was always at his command. In court, he brought with a peculiar felicity and skill the favorable points of his client's case into prominence, and displayed still greater acuteness in glossing over whatever might be prejudicial to his interest. So in his political addresses, he would invest his cause with plausible sophistry, and then advocate it with an earnestness and a persuasive force that carried conviction. In private life, he was not social, as that word is generally understood, his retiring disposition and studious propensities leading him to shun rather than to court society. In his pecuniary dealings, he was sagacious and exact, paying every obligation, and exacting the payment of all that was due him. His only extravagance, if it might be so termed, was in the purchase of books; and he gradually accumulated, at a considerable expense, a library of over ten thousand volumes, which he bequeathed to Asbury University. He was strictly temperate, an inveterate tobacco-smoker until he was somewhat advanced in life, and a lover of music, performing himself, in his earlier days, on the violin. He was a firm believer in revealed religion, and a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The American Bible Society, of which he was for years a member, elected him one of its vice-presidents. He was no adventurer, either in conduct or speculation, — honorable but not chivalrous, — and, on the whole, a useful and estimable member of society.

Mr. Whitcomb was appointed by President Jackson, on the 1st of October, 1836, Commissioner of the General Land Office of the United States, then a bureau of the Treasury Department. He succeeded Ethan Allen Brown, who had studied law under Alexander Hamilton, been governor of and senator from Ohio, and Minister to Brazil, and he was appointed on the request of Hon. Levi Woodbury, then Secretary of the Treasury, to whom he had been recommended by Senators Hendricks and Tipton, of Indiana. The position of Commissioner of the General Land Office was then one of great political importance. Public lands were on sale in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, and the commissioner had to exercise supervisory powers over the official acts of nearly one hundred and fifty subordinates, — registers, receivers, and surveyors, — involving a multiplicity of intricate questions, and requiring unceasing vigilance to produce harmony of action and uniformity of decision. He also had under his direction the survey and sale of lands ceded to the United States by various tribes of Indians, the examination of the titles to tracts claimed under the old Virginia land-warrants, and the location of town sites, on several of which large cities now stand.

One of Mr. Whitcomb's first acts as commissioner was to have the law officer of the land office prepare and publish a compilation of the instructions and decisions of his predecessors, which was highly useful to all persons interested in the national domain. He also initiated the publication of the results of exploring expeditions and surveys of mineral lands; and the report, made under his direction in 1839, by Dr. David Dale Owen, on the mineral wealth of Iowa and Ouiscansan (as it was then spelled), was an important contribution to the scientific literature of the republic. He also had a compilation made of all the official documents, maps, &c., relating to the lands on which live-oak, adapted for naval uses, had been found. This has since been of great value to those officials charged with the preservation and management of live-oak reservations.

In 1841, after the election of General Harrison as President, Mr. Whitcomb was removed from office, and returned to Indiana, locating at Terre Haute, then the literary centre of the State. There he resumed the practice of law, prosecuted his classical studies, and also devoted himself to politics. A pamphlet on the tariff, entitled "Facts for the People," which he wrote for popular distribution, was widely circulated, and had a great effect in revolutionizing the politics of Indiana. A reply to it was written by Oliver H. Smith, but it was a comparative failure. The wonderful success of Mr. Whitcomb's pamphlet secured his nomination, in 1843, as the Democratic candidate for governor of Indiana, and the powerful arguments made by him in his canvass of the State were crowned by a decisive victory at the polls.

Mr. Whitcomb was inaugurated as governor of Indiana in December, 1843. The financial condition of the State was then much deranged, the failure of an extensive system of internal improvements having involved both the government and the people in complicated embarrassments. "Our State," said Governor Whitcomb in his inaugural message, "is experiencing the distress and embarrassment consequent upon a system of over-banking, and its natural progeny, over-trading and deceptive speculation. . . . The tendency of this state of things is to relax the hand of industry by creating false notions of wealth, and to tempt to sudden acquisitions by means as delusive in their results as they are contrary to a primary law of the Author of our being. . . . Our position, soil, and climate, as well as the habits of our people, all point to that branch of labor which is devoted to agriculture as our chief reliance for lasting wealth and returning prosperity. This calling should rank with us the first in respectability, as it is unquestionably the first in importance."

In addition to the financial embarrassments of the State, Governor Whitcomb had, during his second official term, to provide men for the contingent of Indiana in the Mexican war, and he took care that the honor of the State, as well as of the Federal Government, should be sustained. His earnest efforts in having Indiana gallantly represented served as a model to those who succeeded him in after years, when troops had to be raised, officers commissioned, and energetic means employed to furnish the State quota for the armies raised for the suppression of the Rebellion.

Governor Whitcomb succeeded, by the disposal of some of the public works, by judicious taxation, and by strict economy, in redeeming the credit of Indiana, and in placing its finances on a sound basis. His popularity was great, and when Mr. Hannegan was transferred from the United States Senate to the Prussian mission, he was sent to Washington as his successor.

Governor Whitcomb took his seat on the 3d of December, 1849, in the Senate of the United States, then the most illustrious deliberative body that the world had ever known. It was an exciting period of our political history, — Webster and Clay and Calhoun still retaining the mastery, in the full majesty of their powers, while Seward and Chase and Hale had appeared as the advance-guard of a new political organization, soon to be followed by Wade and by Sumner. Governor Whitcomb advocated the admission of California as a free State, believing that each State entering the Union should exercise the right of prescribing its own institutions. He made a brief speech in which he took this position, and at the same time expressed his gratification that Indiana was carrying out, in good faith, the laws for the rendition of fugitive slaves. He voted for the compromise bill, with Clay, Douglas, Cass, and Shields; while Chase, Jefferson Davis, Hale, and Seward were among those who voted against it.

Governor Whitcomb's career as an United States senator was not brilliant, as ill-health impaired its usefulness. He gradually became a confirmed invalid, and at last he was obliged to absent himself from his senatorial duties. His last and most afflicting malady — the stone — gave him great pain, and he finally visited New York, that he might have the advice of leading surgeons there. They recommended an operation, to which he heroically submitted; but he died from its effects at half-past nine o'clock, on the evening of Monday, October 6, 1852. His remains were taken to Indiana for interment.

Governor Whitcomb married, late in life, Mrs. Martha Ann Hurst, a lady of culture, the daughter of William Remick, Esq., of Ohio. She died about a year after their marriage, leaving a daughter, who was reared by her aunt, Mrs. Seymour, and who is now the wife of Claude Matthews, Esq., a large and successful farmer in Vermillion County, Indiana. He became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 2, 1847. Those who enjoyed Governor Whitcomb's acquaintance speak of him in the highest terms, although they cannot furnish many details concerning his useful life:

> "Be this my plea when I suspend
> This all unworthy wreath on such a statesman's bier."

DANIEL WEBSTER

Two States divide the honor of being the home of Daniel Webster, — New Hampshire, where he was born and bred and resided until middle life, and Massachusetts, of which he was a citizen in his maturer years when his greatest triumphs were achieved, and where his remains lie buried.

The family of Webster is said to be of Scottish origin, but was introduced into this country from England. The first comer was Thomas Webster, who settled in Hampton, New Hampshire, before the middle of the seventeenth century; and from him Daniel Webster was the fifth in lineal descent. The father of Daniel was Ebenezer, a native of Kingston, New Hampshire, whose mother, Susannah, was a descendant of the Rev. Stephen Bachelder, a minister of Hampton, noted for his ability as well as for some eccentricities. From this grandmother Daniel Webster believed that he inherited whatever of superior ability he possessed.*

Ebenezer Webster was in his youth a soldier in the old French war, under the celebrated partisan officer, Major Robert Rogers, and in later life rendered useful military service in the Revolution, as a captain of militia. His integrity and force of character gave him the confidence of the community, and he was chosen to various offices of honor and trust, one of which was that of judge of the Court of Common Pleas for his county. He married Abigail Eastman, and in 1763 or 1764 removed to Salisbury, New Hampshire, then an extreme frontier settlement, which was ever after his home. There Daniel Webster was born, on the eighteenth day of January, 1782, not in the log cabin which his father had first inhabited, but in a framed house which he had built about a year before.

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* In a letter to his son Fletcher, dated March 5, 1840, he said: "I believe we are all indebted to my father's mother for a large portion of the little sense which belongs to us. Her name was Susannah Bachelder; she was the daughter of a clergyman, and a woman of uncommon strength of understanding. If I had had many boys I should have called one of them Bachelder."

There is every probability that Daniel Webster would have lived and died a farmer, with no more education than his inquiring mind would have drawn from his own reading and observation, had not his constitution in childhood been too delicate to fit him for hard manual labor. No doubt, too, the belief of his parents in the superiority of his intellectual endowments had its weight in determining his future destiny.

In his boyhood he dearly loved play and reading. His bodily powers were invigorated by outdoor sports, and his mind instructed and elevated by the study of the few books within his reach, some of which happily were English classics.

The schools he attended were of the poorest, but fortunately his father compassed the means to send him for nine months, at the age of fourteen, to the Phillips Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire. He was then a lad of rustic exterior, totally unused to cultivated society; but his native capacity was soon discovered by his teachers, and recognized in the school. He boarded in the family of Mr. Ebenezer Clifford, a person of more than ordinary breeding; and the tradition yet lives in Exeter that the good man, wishing to correct young Webster for some awkwardness of behavior at table, but unwilling to mortify him by doing it openly, administered in his presence a rebuke to his apprentice-boy for the same fault. The event proved, as he anticipated, that the quick apprehension of the young student applied the lesson and profited by it.

After leaving Exeter, young Webster continued his classical studies with the Rev. Samuel Wood of Boscawen, New Hampshire, so that he was enabled in the autumn of 1797 to enter the Freshman class of Dartmouth College. Though imperfectly fitted for admission, he speedily repaired all deficiencies, and took high rank in scholarship, graduating among the very first in his class. But his standing as a speaker and writer was perhaps higher than as a scholar. While in college he furnished numerous articles, in prose and verse, for the *Dartmouth Gazette,* a weekly newspaper published in Hanover; and also, at the desire of the citizens of the town, delivered a Fourth of July oration there, and by appointment of his fellow-students pronounced a eulogy over Simonds, a deceased classmate. Both these latter productions were printed, and gave fair promise of their author's future fame.

In 1801 he took his bachelor's degree with high honor, and at once entered the office of the Hon. Thomas W. Thompson, an eminent counsellor in his native town, as a student at law. But soon his assistance was needed to enable his father to provide for the college expenses of his brother Ezekiel; and for that purpose he took charge of the academy at Fryeburg, Maine, for a year, paying for his board by copying for the Register of Deeds in the evenings. This duty cheerfully done, he returned to his law studies in Salisbury until the spring of 1804, when his brother was enabled, by teaching a school in Boston, to supply him in turn with the means of going thither to pursue his legal studies in the office of the Hon. Christopher Gore, — a master who greatly admired and encouraged his pupil, and gloried in after years in his successes.

It was while here, in the succeeding fall, that Daniel Webster received the offer of the clerkship of the Court of Common Pleas in Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, — a permanent position, the emoluments of which were sufficient to place him above want, and enable him to provide for his parents in their declining years. His father and most of his friends, no doubt, considered the offer one that he would thankfully accept, and he himself was at first of the same mind; but Mr. Gore saw better things in store for his *protégé*, and induced him to decline a position that might have extinguished the future orator, jurist, and statesman in the routine of a mere mechanical drudge.

In March, 1805, Mr. Webster was admitted to the bar by the Court of Common Pleas in Boston, and at once began practice in the little town of Boscawen, New Hampshire, in the immediate vicinity of his father's home. His business must have been extremely limited there; but he found some occupation for his pen upon political topics. In Febrary, 1805, he published anonymously a pamphlet of sixteen pages, entitled "An Appeal to the Old Whigs of New Hampshire," in which he advocated the re-election of his father's friend, Governor Gilman, and on the fourth day of July, 1806, he pronounced "before the federal gentlemen of Concord and its vicinity" an Anniversary Address, which was also printed.

But the desire for a wider field of action led Mr. Webster to remove in September, 1807, to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. There he encountered that emulation which challenged the exertion of his best powers. The bar of Rockingham County was then, and for a long time after, noted for its able members. Of these, Jeremiah Mason was confessedly the head, and Mr. Webster had been in Portsmouth but a little time before he was brought into competition with him. Mr. Mason was struck with surprise and admiration at the talents of the new-comer; and a friendship sprang up between them, highly creditable to both, which continued through life. In a short time Mr. Webster was engaged in the best practice of the county, and took his way rapidly upward to the very head of his profession.

The period of his stay in Portsmouth was one of warm political feeling. He had been educated in the federal opinions of his father, and in their advocacy continued from time to time to employ his pen. In 1808 he published anonymously a tract entitled "Considerations on the Embargo Laws," and in 1812 delivered an address before the Washington Benevolent Society of Portsmouth, which went through two editions. The declaration of war against Great Britain created a terrible excitement in the vicinity of Mr. Webster's new home. A convention of the "Friends of Peace" was holden on the fifth of August, 1812, at Brentwood, a central town of Rockingham County, for the purpose of procuring an expression of the popular feeling on that subject. The convention was well attended and by many prominent citizens. Mr. Webster was appointed at the head of a committee to prepare an address to the President of the United States, in deprecation of the war. The Rockingham Memorial, as the address was termed, was a very able paper, of which Mr. Webster in after life was not ashamed.

Thus fairly embarked on the sea of politics, his progress was rapid. At the succeeding election he was chosen a representative in Congress from New Hampshire, and took his seat at the extra session in May, 1813. In that body he soon was noted for his ability and readiness, and for his matured views upon important questions. He opposed the war, but took no factious ground to impair the credit or cripple the resources of the country. During his service of four years in Congress at this time, questions of a tariff and a national bank were considered; and in regard to both he distinguished himself by his broad, statesmanlike views, and his thorough acquaintance with the subjects.

In August, 1816, Mr. Webster removed with his family to Boston. He had already acquired a practice in the Supreme Court of the United States, and his reputation as a lawyer eminent in every branch of his profession was widespread. The well-known Goodridge case, in which he successfully defended two young men of the name of Keniston from a false charge of highway robbery, gave him added reputation in Massachusetts.

In 1818 he argued in the Supreme Court at Washington the Dartmouth College case, which turned upon the question of the power of the Legislature of New Hampshire to alter the charter of an educational institution incorporated under the Crown of Great Britain. The case attracted much attention, and was argued with pre-eminent ability and eloquence, and has been a leading authority from that day to this. In Boston, Mr. Webster devoted himself for several years almost exclusively to his profession. In November, 1820, however, he served in the Massachusetts Convention to revise the State Constitution, and took a leading part in its deliberations. During its session, in December of the same year, he delivered his oration to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. This was the first of that series of historical memorial discourses, delivered by Mr. Webster, which have no equals in the annals of modern eloquence.

In 1823 Mr. Webster was called on by several of the leading citizens of Boston to re-enter Congress, and after some hesitation assented. His first speech there was in the spring of 1824 upon the Greek Revolution, — a carefully prepared protest against the alliance of the European military powers, and exhibiting a complete mastery of the subject. About the same time he argued in the Supreme Court the great case of Gibbons *v.* Ogden, involving the question of the power of a State to grant exclusive rights in the navigable waters within its territory.

In the following autumn he first made acquaintance with the beautiful farm in Marshfield, Massachusetts, which afterwards became his property, and where he spent so many happy hours of repose from his later laborious and responsible duties.

At the laying of the corner-stone of the monument on Bunker Hill, June 17, 1825, — the fiftieth anniversary of the battle which demonstrated the ability of American militia to withstand the trained troops of Great Britain, — Mr. Webster was selected to deliver the oration. He did it in the presence of General Lafayette and a number of his fellow-soldiers of the Revolution, and of a vast concourse of spectators. This oration, the second of Mr. Webster's famous memorial discourses, was no less original, appropriate, and effective than that on the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, and will never lose its hold on the affections of his countrymen as a noble specimen of patriotic eloquence.

A year later Mr. Webster was appointed to pronounce a eulogy on John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the two ex-Presidents of the United States, who, by an impressive coincidence, breathed their last on the same day which marked the expiration of a half-century from the Declaration of Independence attested by both their names, and in the construction of which both served on the committee of the Continental Congress. The eulogy has passed into a classic.

In 1827 Mr. Webster was chosen to the Senate of the United States from Massachusetts, and held his seat in that body by successive elections until his resignation, in 1841, to accept a position in the cabinet of President Harrison. He entered the senate at an exciting period. The pestilent doctrine of nullification had the support of strong men there, and was drawing towards its first culmination. Mr. Webster had not been long in his new position before his great powers were brought in requisition to meet and overcome the advocates of the fatal heresy. The Southern extremists put forward as their champion Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, — a gentleman who was well entitled to the distinction by his convictions, his ability, and his eloquence. Mr. Hayne supported the South Carolina doctrine in a speech of much power, — plausible, persuasive, and eloquent. By common consent, the opponents of his doctrine looked to Mr. Webster to vindicate their opinions. It has been said that some of the Northern men had apprehensions lest he might not be equal to the task assigned him; but I have the authority of one of his fellow-senators for denying the assertion.* Those whose views he represented felt complete assurance of his ability to refute every pretension of the advocates of paramount State rights. In the morning before his great speech in reply to Hayne, he called a senator from New Hampshire,† in whose judgment he had confidence, into a private room, and, submitting to him his proposed course of argument, asked him if it fairly represented the sentiments of their party. Upon being assured that it did, he is said to have replied, "Then, by the blessing of God, the country shall know my ideas of the Constitution before the day is over."

The speech was magnificent. It combined every element of power. In its logic, it swept away every vestige of the specious reasoning of his opponent; in its style, it varied with the topics discussed, — terse and cogent in argument, lucid in statement, withering in sarcasm. The peroration was a burst of patriotic eloquence without a parallel in any language.

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* Hon. Samuel Bell, of New Hampshire.

† It has been erroneously stated that this was Hon. John Bell, of Tennessee, who was not, however, a senator at that time, but a comparatively new member of the House of Representatives It was, in fact, Hon. Samuel Bell, of New Hampshire.

The complement of this speech was made by Mr. Webster in reply to Mr. Calhoun, three years later. This latter effort, being a compact train of reasoning, with scarcely a feature to appeal to the popular taste, is little known or appreciated, in comparison with the reply to Hayne; but it deserves the careful study of every one who would understand the true theory of our Government. The two speeches grandly support the platform of principles oocupied by the Union party in the great struggle in arms in which the South involved the country a generation later.

In 1831 occurred the famous trial of the brothers Knapp, for the murder of Joseph White, in Salem, Massachusetts. Mr. Webster appeared for the government. His powerful arguments in this case have been preserved, and are perhaps more familiar to the American mind than any other specimen of forensic oratory.

This brief sketch admits of the mention of only the greater efforts of Mr. Webster: it would be impossible to notice particularly each of the various matters of interest and importance which occupied his attention in the forum, the rostrum, and the senate. The question of the expediency and constitutionality of a United States bank, — a subject of long-continued and acrimonious discussion; the ordinance of secession adopted by the State of South Carolina, which might, under a chief magistrate of less firmness than Jackson, have precipitated the war that was fated to come later; the tariff; the removal of the deposits of public moneys from the Bank of the United States to State banks; the financial revulsion of 1837, and the sub-Treasury scheme, — these important subjects all passed in review in the Senate of the United States, and provoked debates, earnest and protracted, in which Mr. Webster took a leading part.

In 1839 Mr. Webster gratified the desire he had long felt to pay a visit to the Old World. He sailed in May, and passed the summer and autumn in Great Britain and France, returning at the close of the year. He was received with the highest demonstrations of respect by all classes of society abroad. Among the many things which attracted his notice in those populous and productive countries, their agriculture was not the least interesting, as the notes preserved by him for future reference indicate.

In January, 1840, he resumed his seat in the Senate. The election in the following November placed General Harrison in the Presidential chair, who offered to Mr. Webster his choice of positions in the Cabinet, indicating his own impression that the department of the Treasury might be preferred; but Mr. Webster was of the opinion that the questions of foreign policy, especially those pending with England, were of paramount importance, and accepted the position of Secretary of State. The settlement of the disputed boundary-line between Maine and New Brunswick; the affair of McLeod and the steamer "Caroline" on the Niagara frontier; and the claim of right exercised by the naval cruisers of England to search our vessels on the high seas, — these were the great questions which demanded the attention of Mr. Webster while he held the secretaryship. The treaty of Washington, which was negotiated with Lord Ashburton, was the result of his labors, in which these various questions were substantially settled. Of this treaty, it may be said that it was probably an eminently just one, as it was complained of as a surrender of rights by the dissatisfied portions of both the nations which were parties to it.

General Harrison lived to enjoy the honors of the presidency but a single month; and Mr. Tyler, who succeeded him, soon found himself deprived of the confidence of the party by which he was elected. Though the remainder of the cabinet went out of office, yet Mr. Webster, by the desire of friends in whom he had confidence, on account of the magnitude of the interests pending before his department, as well as because the new President coincided with him in his views of foreign policy, retained his position till May, 1843, when he resigned it. During the next year he was re-elected from Massachusetts to the United States Senate. The admission of Texas to the Union by joint resolution was soon accomplished; and war with Mexico followed, as had been foretold. To this Mr. Webster was opposed; but, as in the case of the war of 1812, he made no factious resistance, but voted for the supplies which were needed to sustain the honor of the flag.

A broad accession of territory was the result of the war. California and New Mexico had to be provided for by legislation; and this at a time when the agitation on the subject of slavery was at its height. The gold mines of the former attracted a throng of the young and adventurous thither from all sections of the country; so that it was but a few years before her population enabled her to claim admission to the Union as a State, with a constitution already adopted, prohibiting slavery. New Mexico was but sparsely settled; and the South demanded that her territory should be left open to the admission of slavery, and that a more stringent fugitive-slave law should be enacted by Congress. A very great excitement prevailed throughout the country. Mr. Webster honestly believed that there existed such danger to the permanence of the Union that every sacrifice short of principle should be made for the preservation of peace and tranquillity. With this view, he devised with much care a series of measures of compromise, which he advocated by an elaborate speech on the 7th of March, 1850. The main features of his plan were to admit California, with her antislavery constitution; to organize the Territory of New Mexico, without applying the Wilmot proviso, in the belief (which experience has justified) that Nature would forbid the introduction of slavery there; and to pass a new fugitive-slave act, which should secure the alleged fugitive the right of trial by jury.

This speech created a profound sensation throughout the land. While it would have satisfied the more conservative of both political parties, it failed to meet the views of the extreme portions of either. There is no doubt that its immediate effect was to alienate many Northern men who would naturally have been Mr. Webster's supporters. Time, however, has demonstrated that Mr. Webster's apprehensions for the integrity of the Union had serious foundation in fact, and that his judgment in regard to the future destiny of the newly-acquired Territory was correct; but we know now that no liberality of compromise could have done more than postpone the evil day of civil strife.

When Mr. Fillmore succeeded to the presidential chair, on the death of President Taylor, he reorganized the Cabinet, and appointed Mr. Webster again to the Department of State, over which he continued to preside to the day of his death. Though the questions which came before him were of less moment than those which signalized his occupancy of the office before, yet they were not without interest. Prominent among them was the imbroglio with Austria, growing out of the recognition by the United States of Louis Kossuth, the exiled governor of Hungary. Mr. Hülsemann, the Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, was a person not well adapted to perform the delicate duties of his post in a judicious and conciliatory way, and gave needless umbrage to our Government. The difference culminated in an official communication addressed by Mr. Webster to Mr. Hülsemann, which, while departing in no sense from the dignity of diplomatic intercourse, so unanswerably disposed of the pretensions of the Austrian envoy, and administered so merited a lesson to him, that by common consent the controversy was considered closed. The Hülsemann letter was an assertion of the rights and power of our country which stirred the patriotic feeling of the community like a bugle-blast, and may be said to have given a new tone to the diplomatic utterances of this nation.

On the occasion of laying the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol at Washington, July 4, 1851, Mr. Webster was selected to deliver the address. It was in every way worthy of his powers, — a noble culmination to the sequence of his discourses on occasions memorable in the history of the country. It was marked by a changed but an appropriate tone. With the maturity of the orator had come the maturity of the nation; and while his orations at Plymouth and at Bunker Hill had contained presages of the future greatness of his country, this was the expression of its realization. Though prepared upon short notice, the address bears no marks of haste, and embodies the results of long observation and reflection, in a setting of manly and dignified eloquence.*

The last forensic effort of Mr. Webster occurred in January, 1852, in the important suit involving the right of using Goodyear's patent vulcanized india-rubber. It was with some reluctance that he engaged in the cause. He had a growing indisposition for the conflicts of the forum, and especially so while he held a position in the national cabinet. But the motives which induced him to accept the engagement were most creditable to his feelings. He argued the cause in opposition to Mr. Choate, with all his wonted power and animation; and the result proved favorable to his clients.

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* As an indication of the ease and facility with which Mr. Webster could arrange his matured thoughts and clothe them in language, we subjoin an extract from a letter of his to his son Fletcher, written in the early summer of 1851, and in regard to this discourse. Mr. Webster was just about making a little excursion into Virginia; and the allusion to the well-known anecdote of his composition of the famous apostrophe in his first Bunker Hill oration is highly characteristic: "This morning, after breakfast and before church, — that is, between half past seven and eleven o'clock, — I struck out the whole frame and substance of my address for the Fourth of July. I propose to write it all out, which I can do in three hours, and to read it, and to give correct copies at once to the printers. So, if I find a trout-stream in Virginia, I shall not have to be thinking out, 'Venerable Men!'"

In the succeeding spring came on the nomination of the candidate of the Whig party for the presidency. The friends of Mr. Webster, who had already seen his claims more than once set aside, were extremely earnest that he should receive the nomination. There is no question that he himself thought it his due; and when it was accorded to General Scott, on the ground of availability, he refused to endorse the nomination. More than this: he predicted that it would lead to the dissolution of the party. In fact, the Whig party died with Daniel Webster.

About this time, Mr. Webster sustained a severe injury by being accidentally thrown from his carriage, which undoubtedly contributed to the failure of his bodily power that soon manifested itself. He passed most of the summer at his home in Marshfield, holding frequent correspondence with the President in regard to public affairs, but his health all the while sinking. At length, feeling that he had not long to live, he made his preparations for death with calmness and in the Christian faith that he had professed from early manhood.

On the 24th of October, 1852, at his home in Marshfield, surrounded by his family and intimate friends, his worldly affairs all adjusted, and in the full possession of his mental faculties, Daniel Webster passed from earth. The country was in mourning. Every demonstration of grief and respect for his memory, public and private, was paid. His funeral was attended by a numerous assemblage of friends and admirers; and the press and pulpit of the country paid universal tribute to his eminence and patriotism.

Mr. Webster was twice married. His first wife was Grace, daughter of the Rev. Elijah Fletcher, of Hopkinton, New Hampshire. They were married June 24, 1808, and she bore him five children, viz.: —

Grace, born April 29, 1810; died January 23, 1817.

Daniel Fletcher, commonly called Fletcher, born July 23, 1813; graduated at Harvard College in 1833; studied law; was Secretary of Legation to China from 1843 to 1845; Assistant Secretary of State to his father; surveyor of the port of Boston, from 1850 to 1861; colonel of the Twelfth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers in the war of the Rebellion, and fell in battle August 3, 1862, near Bull Run, in Virginia.

Julia, born January 16, 1818, married Samuel A. Appleton, Esq., September 24, 1839, and died April 28, 1848.

Edward, born July 20, 1820; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1841; secretary of the Maine Boundary Commission, and major of the Massachusetts Regiment in the Mexican war; died at San Angel, Mexico, January 23, 1848.

Charles, born December 31, 1822; died December 18, 1824.

Mrs. Grace Webster died January 21, 1828. Mr. Webster was again married, December 12, 1829, to Caroline Bayard, daughter of Herman LeRoy, Esq., an eminent merchant of the city of New York. She survived her husband, and is still living, at an advanced age.

Mr. Webster was an affectionate husband and father. He preserved throughout his life the letters written him by his children, including those traced in printed characters before the little ones had learned to write. He was fond of social intercourse, and loved to entertain friends and visitors at his home with liberal hospitality.

From a child, he was always partial to field sports. An excellent shot, he was no less skilful with the rod. He knew every trout-stream in his neighborhood, and was almost equally familiar with the best sea-fishing stations off the coast of Marshfield.

His taste for agriculture engrossed no small share of his time and his means. He gloried in his great oxen and his handsome crops. He studied the improvements in the art of husbandry, and applied them in the cultivation of his lands. His written directions to the overseers of his farms were frequent and minute, showing that he had practical acquaintance with the subject.

He was an early riser. Many of his letters bore date in the morning hours. He enjoyed the beauty and freshness of the dawn, and often accomplished a large share of the work of the day before the rest of the world were stirring.

Mr. Webster's physique was worthy of his powerful and commanding intellect. Tall and strongly proportioned, with a massive head, dark complexion, and deep, intensely black, luminous eyes, he was a man to attract notice anywhere. His voice was sonorous and well modulated, his manner and action agreeable and impressive.

It is unnecessary to descant upon his intellectual greatness: wherever his name is known his transcendent powers of mind are recognized. In the sturdy grasp of his logic, the questions which divide senates and embroil nations lost their difficulty. He reduced the most abstruse and complicated problems to their original elements, so that they came forth simple and intelligible to the commonest apprehension. No technicalities obscured his perception, no sophistries misled his judgment. His reasoning was exact, convincing, unanswerable.

The shaft of his logic was sent home by the force of a vigorous diction. He was the master of a chaste and idiomatic style, and his matured taste abhorred inflated and ambitious phraseology. He delighted in the curt, expressive Saxon element in our speech, which prince and peasant alike may understand. Even when his subject and occasion roused him to intenser feeling and prompted a higher flight, his tongue never forgot its Attic simplicity and grace. His eloquence consisted not in "affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation." It was genuine, elevated sentiment, clothed in appropriate simple language. As long as cogent argument, unaffected feeling, and pure English shall be appreciated, his fame as an orator will endure.

From early manhood he was attached to the ordinances of religion, and was a member and communicant of the church. He had contemplated writing a volume on the evidences of Christianity, though the active duties of his life did not permit him to carry out the design. But he bore testimony to his belief in the doctrines of the Christian religion while on his death-bed, and in an inscription which he wrote, to be carved on his monument.

Mr. Webster was admitted an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society March 31, 1847. He had diligently studied and was thoroughly versed in the history of our country, and particularly of the national government. In his later life he formed the plan of preparing a history of the Constitution of the United States and of Washington's administration. The subject, he said, had long occupied his mind, and was so well matured that he could dictate the work as fast as it could be written down, at the rate of a volume a month. He went so far as to sketch the outlines of the work, and the proposed contents of each volume and chapter. It was to be comprised in three volumes, and to contain fifty chapters of about fifty pages each. It would open with the proceedings which led to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. The second and third volumes would treat of Washington's administration, terminating with a comparison of his character with those of the most distinguished men of ancient and modern times. A history of the formation and design of the Constitution was to be included, together with notices of Hamilton, Jefferson, and the principal public men of that time.

It is matter of serious regret that Mr. Webster's life was not prolonged, that he might complete this great national work, for which his experience, his studies, and his reach of mind pre-eminently fitted him. No man of his day could have weighed and portrayed the character and conduct of the Father of his Country and his distinguished contemporaries so justly and so accurately as he. And the history of the Constitution, written by "the expounder of the Constitution," would surely have possessed an authority above all others. The outline of the work will go down to posterity, like the unfinished sketches of the great masters of art, which no successor is found worthy to complete.*

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* The contents of the several chapters of the projected History, as dictated by Mr. Webster to his secretary and friend, Mr. G. J. Abbott, may be found among the Webster MSS. presented by Hon. Peter Harvey to the New Hampshire Historical Society.

DANIEL DRAKE

Daniel Drake, M.D., of Cincinnati, Ohio, was a native of New Jersey. He was born on the 20th of October, 1785, on a farm, on which the town of Plainfield in part now is, and which then belonged to his grandfather. His parents were Isaac Drake and Elizabeth Shotwell, — a daughter of Quaker parents, — who began life in poverty, and, down to their death, each at the age of more than threescore and ten, never rose above it, so far as dollars and cents were concerned; but each lived and died rich in Christian uprightness and the esteem of those who knew them. Isaac Drake was poor because a stepmother prevented his father's giving him, when he married, a portion of his estate, as he had done to two older brothers, who married during the lifetime of their mother; and Elizabeth Shotwell was poor because her father lost nearly everything he had by supplying the Revolutionary army with cattle, for which he was paid in "Continental money," which depreciated until its value altogether vanished.

Isaac and his brothers were not satisfied with their position, and thought of emigrating. At first their minds were turned to the south branch of the Potomac River, in Virginia, whither a cousin had, some years before, emigrated; but, after a visit by two of the brothers to that region, they hesitated. While in this state of mind, a Baptist preacher, who, a few years before, had gone from one of the Atlantic States to Washington, in Mason County, Kentucky, came back to New Jersey, and paid a visit to the pastor of the Baptist Church at Scotch Plains,— three miles from where Isaac lived,— and gave such glowing accounts of Kentucky that "Old Virginia" was soon forgotten. Another Baptist minister, who, or whose sons, had visited Kentucky, added his breath of praise of it, till at length migration thither was determined upon by five families,— those of the three brothers Drake and two others of their kindred, of all of whom Isaac was the youngest, the poorest, and the most limited in learning. Both he and Elizabeth, however, could read and write, though neither knew anything of grammar, geography, or arithmetic. In the spring of 1788, just as the first white settlers of Ohio planted themselves at Marietta, these young people, with Daniel and an infant sister, and a sister of the mother, began their journey toward Kentucky; they and all their earthly goods crowded into one Jersey wagon, to be hauled by two horses over the yet steep and rugged Alleghany Mountains, a distance of nearly four hundred miles, through a very sparsely inhabited region, to Red Stone Old Fort, on the Monongahela River, where Brownsville, Pennsylvania, now stands; whence they were to float down that river in flat-boats to its junction with the Alleghany, at Fort Pitt, now Pittsburg; and thence down the Ohio to Limestone, now Maysville, in Mason County, Kentucky,— a journey by water of about four hundred and fifty miles, in the course of which the voyagers, owing to the danger of being attacked by Indians, could make no landing, except at Fort Pitt. The voyage was accomplished; and, on the 10th of June, 1788, the party reached Limestone, which then consisted of a few log-cabins only, and proceeded thence to Washington, four miles inland; which was a more important place, because it had a few more log-cabins. When he landed at Limestone, all the money in the world that Isaac and his wife had was one dollar; and that was asked for a bushel of corn. Their first residence was in a covered pen or shed, built for sheep, adjoining the cabin of its owner. Their first home was on a tract of thirty-eight acres, at Mayslick, eight miles from Washington, where the five immigrants purchased a tract of fourteen hundred acres, each receiving such portion of it as he had means to pay for, — Isaac's being but the one thirty-seventh part of the whole. Here, before the ensuing winter set in, the one-story log-cabin which was to shelter him and his family was erected, — a single room, about eighteen feet square, without a window, with a door opening to the south, a half-finished wooden chimney, a roof on one side only, without any upper or lower floor, and this in the "Dark and Bloody Ground" of Kentucky, where all the view, north, south, east, and west, was a wilderness, and where the yell of the Indian might at any moment mingle, in the dead of night, with the familiar howl of the wolves. While the colony was engaged in felling trees, and with them building the cabins which were to shelter them in the approaching winter, their practice was to retire into the woods, and lodge separately among the cane, in order to elude the Indians. No attack, however, was made upon them; and before winter set in, their rude cabins, each with its port-holes, and a strong bar across the door, were completed. Still, so great was the apprehension of savage attacks, that the bar was never removed from the door in the morning till some one had ascended by a ladder, which was always at hand, to the loft, and looked out through the cracks for Indians, lest they might have planted themselves near the door, to rush in when the bar should be removed and the heavy latch raised from its resting-place.

From the time of the arrival of the colony, they suffered from the want of bread. Arriving in 1788, too late for raising a crop that year, they looked forward to the next year with great anxiety, and were then doomed to a grievous disappointment; for, on the night of the last day of August, 1789, there came so severe a frost as to kill the unripe corn, and almost break their hearts.

Up to the victory of Wayne, in 1794, the danger from Indians continued, and Indian wars, midnight butcheries, captivities, and horse-stealings were the daily topics of conversation; volunteering to pursue marauding parties occasionally took place, and sometimes men were drafted.

In this wild region Daniel remained until December, 1800. In 1794 his father acquired a tract of two hundred acres of land near Mayslick, in exchange for the thirty-eight acres which he first improved. The tract so acquired was covered with an unbroken forest, which must be cleared away, and a new cabin erected. His father was too poor to hire a laborer for steady work, and was himself far from being a robust and vigorous man. And so the child became his helper; and from that time till he went to Cincinnati, he participated, almost without intermission, in the labors of the farm. He was ever a dutiful and affectionate child.

All the education he had, before going to Cincinnati, was obtained from ignorant teachers, and the whole period of his schooling did not exceed six months. The sum and summary of his acquisitions at school was thus given by himself: —

"I had learned to spell all the words in Dilworth, and a good portion of those in Noah Webster, Jr., whose spelling-book then seemed to me a greater marvel than does his Quarto Dictionary, now lying before me. As a reader, I was equal to any in what I regarded as the highest perfection, — a loud and tireless voice. In chirography I was so-so; in geography, obscure; and in history, zero. In arithmetic, as far as the double rule of three, practice, tare and tret, interest, and even fractions in decimals.

My greatest acquirement — that of which I was rather proud — was some knowledge of surveying, acquired from Love (I mean the name of the author, as well as my taste), but which I have long since forgotten. Of grammar I knew nothing, and, unfortunately, there was no one within my reach who could teach it."

Such was the raw country lad who was sent to the village of Cincinnati, in December, 1800, to become a doctor, — the first medical student known there, as he afterwards became the first medical graduate from that place.

How such a boy, under the circumstances in which his parents and himself were placed, should have been removed from their humble sphere of life to that in which he was afterwards to become eminent, is not without interest. Let the explanation be given in his own words: —

"This day completes a quarter of a century since I left the plow, and commenced the study of medicine. I was then turned of fifteen, and without preparatory education. My father was poor and of infirm health. I wished either to remain with him, and labor on the farm, where I had worked the greater part of my time for seven years, or to be bound to a trade, and wished him to put me as an apprentice to Benjamin Stout, saddler, in Lexington. This was suggested by some of my playmates having been apprenticed to that person. My father's vanity or ambition or parental affection led him to persevere in placing me under the care of his old friend and physician as a student of medicine. My father was a gentleman by nature, and a Christian from convictions produced by a simple and unaffected study of the Word of God. His poverty he regretted, his ignorance he deplored. His natural instincts were to knowledge, refinement, and honorable influence in the affairs of the world. In consulting the tradition of the family, he found no higher condition than his own as their lot in past times; but he had formed a conception of something more elevated, and resolved on its attainment, not for himself and mother, nor for *all* of his children, — for either would have been impossible, — but for some members of the family. He fancied that I would make a good doctor; and a doctor he regarded as a gentleman. He did not properly appreciate the deficiency of my education. As the time of my departure approached, I felt unhappy, and often secretly shed tears, at the prospect of leaving him to carry on the operations of the farm alone. The idea of studying was by no means disagreeable; but I felt no particular desires in that way, nor any aspirations after fame. I should have made a willing and contented mechanic or farmer; and, under the circumstances of deficient education and insufficient finances, it is obvious that I ought to have been assigned to the workshop or the field."

When this ignorant plow-boy went to Cincinnati, it was a village of not a dozen years' existence, with not more than four hundred inhabitants, situated in a wilderness, without commerce or manufactures; with exceedingly limited and difficult means of communication with other parts of the country; with only occasional horseback mails; without any educational institutions; with the smallest facilities for education in any form; and with little, in fact, to invite population but the hope of a brighter future, which it has abundantly realized.

His studies were prosecuted under the direction of Dr. William Goforth, a native of New York, who had migrated to Washington, Kentucky, at the same time with the Drake colony in 1788, whence he went to Cincinnati. There is no reason to suppose that Dr. Goforth was himself a man of much medical knowledge, or that he had any but the most ordinary facilities for imparting medical education. For nearly four years Daniel was his student; when, in May, 1804, at the age of eighteen years and six months, he launched into the practice of his profession as the partner of his preceptor.

In the fall of 1805, assisted pecuniarily by his father, he journeyed to Philadelphia on horseback to attend medical lectures in the University of Pennsylvania, under the auspices of Professors Rush and Wistar; and that venerable institution, in its whole history, has probably had few more earnest and faithful students than he was. In a letter to his father, from there, he said : —

> "I learn all I can ; I try not to lose a single moment, — seeing I have to pay so dear for leave to stay in the city for a few months. I attend the lectures, and then study till two in the afternoon. After dinner, apply myself closely to books ; call for candles, and sit up till one, sometimes two, in the morning. This is my constant plan of conduct. I only sleep six hours in the twenty-four, and when awake try never to lose a single moment."

In April, 1806, he returned to Cincinnati, but went back to Mayslick, where he practised for a year. In the spring of 1807 Dr. Goforth left Cincinnati for New Orleans; and Daniel returned to the former, where was his home till the end of his life. On the 20th of December of that year he married Harriet Sisson, a native of New Haven, Connecticut, who was a daughter of James Sisson and Sarah Mansfield, and a niece of Colonel Jared Mansfield, then Surveyor-General of the United States for the Northwestern Territory, and afterwards for many years Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy at West Point. At the time of her marriage she was a member of his family, at Ludlow's Station, five miles from Cincinnati. She was a person of much native grace, refined tastes, ardent temperament, and quick intelligence, but without a fashionable education. Their married life continued nearly eighteen years; and to him she was not only a most faithful and loving wife, but a wise counsellor, a steady support, and a sympathizing companion. Her death occurred on the 30th of September, 1825, in Cincinnati. He never married again. Their offspring were five in number: Harriet, born October 24, 1808, and died September 20, 1809; Charles Daniel, born April 11, 1811, and in 1880 still living; John Mansfield, born July 1, 1813, and died February 5, 1816; Elizabeth Mansfield, born May 31, 1817, and died November 9, 1864; and

Harriet Echo, born July 19, 1819, and died September 9, 1864.

Notwithstanding the young doctor's defective education, he early manifested a disposition toward literature, and in 1810 gave to the world his first publication, a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, entitled "Notices concerning Cincinnati," — the first authentic account of that place, in which he treats briefly of the topography, geology, climate, diseases, population, and condition of the then village of three hundred and sixty dwellings and two thousand three hundred and twenty inhabitants.

In 1813 he took part in the formation of a School of Literature and Arts, before which, in 1814, he delivered an anniversary address.

About this same period, he engaged in commercial operations in connection with his younger brother, and afterwards with him and their father, which extended through several years, and in the end were very disastrous, leaving him, about the year 1818, in a condition of insolvency, from which it was some fifteen years before he fully recovered.

Immersed, as he was, in those business affairs and the practice of his profession, he was at the same time one of the most active leaders in the literary enterprises of the day. In 1814 he was the secretary of the Lancaster Seminary, and president of the Library Society. From the former sprang the Cincinnati College, which went into operation in 1815.

In 1815 he published, by subscription, a volume of two hundred and fifty 12mo pages, entitled "Natural and Statistical View; or, a Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami County," which consisted of original and authentic information in regard to the town and adjacent region. All things considered, it is doubtful whether any book of that description, in regard to any place in this country, has ever been published that excelled that in intrinsic value and permanent interest. Its value was in its accuracy; and that depended on the writer's own careful and intelligent observations through a series of years. It is still, and must always continue to be, an object of interest to all who wish to trace the early character and progress of Cincinnati.

In the autumn of 1815 Dr. Drake again resorted to the medical lectures in the University of Pennsylvania, and in the following spring received his diploma from that institution, — the first ever conferred by any institution on a resident of Cincinnati. From this time his professional life expanded, and left its traces with such distinctness as to deserve note.

In 1817 was established at Lexington, Kentucky, the medical department of Transylvania University; and he was tendered the Professorship of Materia Medica and Medical Botany in it, which he accepted, and lectured in the institution during the following winter. It was the opening of his career as a teacher of medicine, which continued with slight intermissions until his death, thirty-five years afterward.

In the spring of 1818, recognizing the superior prospects for growth and advancement of Cincinnati to those of Lexington, he resigned his professorship in Transylvania University, but not his purpose to continue a teacher of medicine. He conceived the idea of establishing a medical school in Cincinnati, and in December, 1818, applied to the Legislature of Ohio, and obtained a charter for the Medical College of Ohio, which was established at Cincinnati, and still exists. Ohio was then a frontier State, with a population of about four hundred thousand, and Cincinnati a backwoods town, of some seven thousand inhabitants, — certainly not the most inviting field for such an enterprise that could then have been found. But the western rivers had, seven years before, begun to be plowed by steamboats, and ideas had begun to expand in the far West; and Dr. Drake looked forward to what Cincinnati and Ohio and the West were to become, and planned for an enlarged future, which he lived to see.

At the same time that he obtained the charter of the medical college, he procured that of a literary institution, called Cincinnati College, and also the passage of a law establishing and endowing the Commercial Hospital at Cincinnati, of which the professors of the Medical College were to be *ex officio* the physicians, with the right to introduce the students for attendance and clinical instruction.

It was not until November, 1820, that the medical college went into operation, and then with a class of only twenty-four students, Dr. Drake holding the chair of the Institutes and Practice of Medicine, and Obstetrics. He delivered the inaugural discourse, which was published, with a memorial to the General Assembly of Ohio, signed by himself alone, urging the endowment of the institution by the State. The following concluding words of the memorial show what he had essayed to do, and the spirit which then animated him: —

> "By a perusal of the discourse which I have taken the liberty of dedicating to your honorable body, it will be perceived that the Faculty of this college have endeavored to organize it on a liberal plan; that they have not sought to give it present attractions at the expense of future prosperity; that they have proposed to erect in it, from the beginning, a standard of excellence for their pupils at least as exalted as that of any other institution in the Union; and in short, that, having a due regard to the high destinies of Ohio, they have anxiously sought to lay the foundation of a school which, in its future progress and under abler guidance, may be made to contribute to the glory of the State."

The second session of the college opened in November, 1821, with a class of thirty students. It was the last session of his connection with the institution for ten years In framing its charter, he had unconsciously embodied in it that which, after its second session, proved the means of dashing all his hopes of building up in Cincinnati a great medical school. The professors of the college were its governors, filling its chairs by their own appointment, and controlling all its concerns. This plan of organization was the great mistake which affected his whole after-life as a teacher of medicine. At the end of the second session, two of his colleagues resigned; and the remaining two expelled him from the institution which his own brain had conceived, his own will and efforts had brought into existence, and in which their places were obtained through him.

Simultaneously with the establishment of the medical college, Dr. Drake became much interested in the formation of a museum in Cincinnati, — which was opened in June, 1820, in the Cincinnati College building, and for many years was an interesting feature of the growing backwoods town.

So much of the space allotted for this biographical sketch has been occupied with the early career of its subject that the remainder of that career must be presented in much condensed form.

In 1823 Dr. Drake again became connected with Transylvania University, as Professor of Materia Medica; and his connection with it in that chair, and afterwards in that of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, continued until April, 1827, when he resigned his professorship. In the time he was there, the institution rose to its highest success, — in December, 1824, its class numbering two hundred and thirty-four students, and his private class fifty-seven. His introductory lecture, upon re-entering the institution, was on "The Necessity and Value of Professional Industry"; and it was published at the request of the class.

From April, 1827, to November, 1830, his connection with medical schools was suspended, and he was engaged in the practice of his profession in Cincinnati. In the former year he became the editor of the "Western Medical and Physical Journal," — a monthly periodical, afterwards called the "Western Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences," — which he conducted for several years. In the same year he was offered a place in the Medical College of Ohio, which he declined; and he established in Cincinnati an eye and ear infirmary.

In the former year he became interested in the temperance movement, and, on the 1st of March, 1828, delivered before the Agricultural Society of Hamilton County an elaborate address on the subject of intemperance, which was published in a volume of ninety-six pages. Through his whole subsequent life, he lost no opportunity of speaking and writing in favor of the temperance cause.

In 1830 he was tendered a professorship in two medical institutions, — the University of Virginia, and Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. The former he declined; the latter he accepted, and delivered a course of lectures therein during the winter of 1830–31. There is no reason to doubt that he might have retained during his life his connection with that institution; but he never could entertain the thought of removal from Cincinnati, and his acceptance of the Philadelphia professorship was only for a single session, and designed merely to enable him to find professors for a new medical institution in Cincinnati. That institution was organized in the following year, under the authority of Miami University, situated at Oxford, Ohio; but, before it went into operation, an arrangement was made for the consolidation of its Faculty with that of the Medical College of Ohio, and Dr. Drake lectured in that institution during the session of 1831–32. At its end, finding that the chair he had voluntarily taken (Clinical Medicine) in order to promote the consolidation, could not, owing to the limited extent of the wards of the hospital, be sustained, he resigned it, and for three years thereafter was not connected with any medical school.

During that session, he published a volume of one hundred and four pages, 8vo, entitled "Practical Essays on Medical Education and the Medical Profession in the United States," which probably contains as much practical wisdom as has been anywhere embodied on these topics.

November 8, 1833, he delivered in Lexington, before the Literary Convention of Kentucky, a speech, which was published, on "The Importance of promoting Literary and Social Concert in the Valley of the Mississippi, as a means of elevating its Character and perpetuating the Union."

In September, 1834, he delivered before the Union Literary Society of Miami University a "Discourse on the History, Character, and Prospects of the West," which was published.

At the session, in October, 1834, of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers," he delivered a very elaborate discourse on "The Philosophy of Family, School, and College Discipline," which was one of the best written and ablest of his occasional productions.

In 1835 he made a conspicuous and earnest effort to set on foot the construction of a railroad from Cincinnati to Charleston, South Carolina.

In June of that year he succeeded in establishing a new medical school in Cincinnati, as a department of Cincinnati College. This was strictly a private enterprise, with no endowment; and to each of its four original projectors it was a cost, during the four years of its existence, of nearly the entire amount of the emoluments of their respective chairs.

When it was closed in 1839, Dr. Drake was elected to a professorship in the Louisville (Kentucky) Medical Institute, — afterwards the University of Louisville, — where he pursued his professorial duties for the succeeding ten years. Some time during that period, the trustees of the institution adopted a rule limiting the period of any professor's service to the time when he should attain the age of sixty-five years. In 1849 Dr. Drake, though not yet sixty-four, deemed it proper, in view of the adoption of that rule, to resign his chair, notwithstanding the abrogation of the rule in his favor. He was immediately elected to a chair in the Medical College of Ohio; and, as there were no longer any circumstances which would seem to render a connection with that institution unpleasant or embarrassing, he accepted the post, and during the session of 1849–50 lectured there. Unexpectedly finding, however, that his position was not free from embarrassments, and being urgently solicited by his late colleagues in the Louisville school to return to it, he consented to do so, and lectured there two sessions. In 1852 he was again tendered a professorship in the Medical College of Ohio; and he yielded to his ardent desire to spend the evening of his life in making it a great institution, and re-entered it for the third time, after an almost continuous exile of thirty years. He came back to it full of years and professional honors, with apparently nothing untoward to mar his happiness in returning to his "first love." Though nearing his sixty-eighth year, it was literally true that "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." He entered with almost youthful enthusiasm into every matter connected with the college; and the prospect was that he might yet have continued to teach for years with unimpaired power and acceptance, when suddenly the disease — congestion of the brain — which in 1825 had nearly proved fatal to him, recurred, and after an illness of a few days death closed his earthly career, on the 5th of November, 1852, at the opening of the session of the college, and before he had reappeared in its halls; and the class assembled as his pupils became his mourners.

In 1840 Dr. Drake had united with the Protestant Episcopal Church in Louisville, and thereafter not only showed in his life the power of the faith he had professed, but lost no fit opportunity of publicly upholding that religion before the world. The last opportunity of that kind he had, and also his last public appearance, was in a public meeting, held in Cincinnati on the 26th of October, 1852, on the occasion of the death of Daniel Webster, when he closed his brief remarks with these words: —

> "As an humble professor of the Christian religion, I call the attention of the young men of this country to Daniel Webster's dying declarations of the inestimable value of the Christian religion, of man's utter dependence on Divine mercy. To the example of the mightiest intellect of the age, let me point those who have thought religion not meet for men of culture and genius. Who shall say that the simple utterance of the departed statesman, 'THY ROD, THY ROD, — THY STAFF, THY STAFF, — THEY COMFORT ME!' does not constitute the greatest act of that life of great acts?"

He was elected a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, March 4, 1847.

This brief sketch of Dr. Drake's life were reprehensibly incomplete if it omitted a specific notice of the great literary event of his career, — the publication, in 1850, of his "Treatise on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America," a work of eight hundred and seventy-eight octavo pages, which was an *original* contribution of high and permanent scientific value to the literature of his profession. It can hardly be too much to say that probably there never was a medical work of such extent and scope given to that profession, as the result of the personal observations and investigations of one man over a large part of a continent, and embodying positive facts, carefully observed, compared, and noted, by a logical, well-informed, and judicious mind. That it is really a great work, in value as well as labor, is admitted by the highest medical and scientific authorities of Europe and America. The germ of it was the "Notices concerning Cincinnati," expanded into a bud in the "Picture of Cincinnati." For thirty years he was engaged in preparing for this crowning effort of his life; and for years before its completion he travelled, when not engaged in lecturing, and observed, inquired, and noted, in the vast expanse of that interior valley from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, and on that gulf as far eastward as Pensacola, Florida, and from the Alleghany Mountains westward to the farthest confines of civilization on the western border. In these extensive journeyings he visited most of the eminent physicians, and mingled among all classes of people, — Indians and negroes as well as whites. He must have travelled at least thirty thousand miles, and examined a zone of country comprising four million square miles. The object of this was to ascertain personally the distinctive features of each district of country, and especially of all the principal cities and towns. The result was that there is no other work which compares with this in distinct, accurate topographical information. As a pure work of science, none of greater magnitude and accuracy has probably been produced in America, — certainly none that embodied the original researches of one man. After his death, his unfinished manuscripts of a second volume of this great work were edited by Drs. S. Hanbury Smith, of Cincinnati, and Francis Gurney Smith, of Philadelphia, in which latter city they were published.

That the character of Dr. Drake was one of marked and striking individuality and force was unquestioned by those who knew him, though it may not have been made very apparent in this brief sketch. That it had faults may not be denied, but they were those of temper and temperament, not of moral structure and sentiment; and they were never of such magnitude and gravity as to forbid our closing our eyes to them in the brighter presence of his undisputed virtues. To sum up his character in a sentence, it appears to me, after as impartial and thoughtful a survey as I am capable of, that it presented a diversified combination of strong, acute, searching, discriminating intellect, sanguine and poetic temperament, keen and candid observation, tireless energy, steady and persevering industry, ardent thirst for knowledge, deep and controlling convictions, indomitable will, high moral courage, honest and steadfast devotion to truth, tender and sympathetic affections, broad philanthropy, and warm love for the good and the beautiful, — each distinctly marked; and all, in his later years, were regulated, chastened, and sanctified by the power of a sincere and humble Christian faith.

Professor Samuel D. Gross, of Philadelphia, who had long been associated with Dr. Drake in medical schools in Cincinnati and Louisville, delivered an elaborate discourse on his life and character; and in 1855 was published in Cincinnati (with a portrait), "Memoirs of the Life and Services of Daniel Drake, M.D., Physician, Professor, and Author; with Notices of the Early Settlement of Cincinnati and Some of its Pioneer Citizens," by Edward D. Mansfield, LL.D.

In 1870 a volume was published in Cincinnati (with portrait), under the title of "Pioneer Life in Kentucky," containing a series of reminiscential letters from Dr. Drake to his children, written in 1845, 1847, and 1848, giving an account of the first fifteen years of his life. They have great vividness of description and detail, and present the only picture that ever was, and certainly the only one that ever will be, written in regard to American frontier life in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

RALPH HASKINS

Ralph Haskins was born in Boston, April 5, 1779. He was the son of John and Hannah (Upham) Haskins, and the youngest of sixteen children.

His father, John Haskins, was an old and much respected citizen of Boston, where he was born, March 12, 1729. In early life a cooper, in partnership with his step-father, Thomas Hake, he later became a distiller, and amassed a handsome property, principally in real estate. He was a man of distinguished integrity, a firm Episcopalian,* and of conservative politics, although he seems to have sympathized with the Whigs in the early stages of the Revolutionary agitation. He remained in Boston during the siege, but, immediately after the evacuation of the town by the British, took the oath of allegiance to the State. Before the Revolution he was interested in military matters, and was lieutenant, and in 1772 captain, of a company in the Boston Regiment. His house stood on Rainsford's Lane, now Harrison Avenue; and his estate extended from that street to Washington Street, opposite to the Boylston Market. He died at an advanced age, October 27, 1814.

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* Captain Haskins was for many years a worshipper at King's Chapel, and in 1785 was one of a committee chosen by the proprietors to consider the question of amending the Prayer-Book. He dissented from the conclusions of a majority of this committee; and a manuscript in his handwriting is now in the writer's possession, in which, after citing a multitude of Scriptural texts in opposition to the Unitarian views of the majority, he vigorously protested against "those horrid principles," to adopt which, he declared, "in my opinion is denying the Faith, and to become worse than infidels." He protested, with others, against the subsequent ordination of the Rev. James Freeman, and thenceforth worshipped at Trinity Church.

Robert Haskins, the father of John, and the first of the name of whom we have any trace, came to Boston, according to family tradition, in the early part of the last century. He there married, in 1728, Sarah, the daughter of Philip Cook, of Cambridge, and died about the year 1730 of small-pox, during the infancy of his only child, John. His origin is unknown. One tradition relates that he came to Boston from Virginia, where he left numerous relatives; according to another version, he came from England with a brother, and settled in Boston. The brother went to Virginia, where there are families of the name now settled.

Hannah Upham, the mother of Ralph Haskins, was the daughter of Phineas and Hannah (Waite) Upham, of Malden. She was born May 6, 1734; was married to John Haskins, March 12, 1752; and died in Boston, September 18, 1819. She was a descendant of Deacon John Upham, who settled in Weymouth as early as 1635, and who removed thence to Malden. On her mother's side, she was descended from Captain John Waite, of Malden, Speaker, in 1684, of the Massachusetts House of Deputies; also from John Howland, of the Mayflower Pilgrims, and from a sister of President Dunster, of Harvard College. At her death, her son Ralph wrote of her: "She has performed all the duties of life well. With truth it may be said, she was one of the best of mothers, best of wives, best of Christians, and best of women."

Of the sixteen children of John and Hannah Haskins, thirteen — four sons and nine daughters — lived to an advanced age, and ten were married. It is a remarkable fact that, for a space of sixty-one years, — from November 5, 1761, to December 14, 1822, — not a death occurred among them. The oldest son, John, graduated at Harvard College in 1781, and studied medicine, but later engaged in mercantile pursuits, which were more congenial to his taste. The three other sons received simply a school education. Of the daughters, three were married to clergymen, — one of them, Ruth, becoming the wife of the Rev. William Emerson, of Harvard, Massachusetts, and the mother of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Captain John Haskins and his wife were both endowed with strong and deeply religious characters; and thei children were carefully trained in principles of virtue and piety. An interesting and characteristic anecdote has been preserved of the Captain, which is worth relating for the glimpse it affords of his home life. One day, while the family were at dinner, the distillery, which adjoined his house, was discovered to be on fire. The children started eagerly from their places, but were instantly checked by their father. Calling them back to the table, he returned thanks, according to his custom, "The Lord be praised for this and all his mercies." "Now," he added, "you may go."

Ralph, the youngest of this numerous family, was baptized at Trinity Church, April 6, 1779, — Ralph Inman, of Cambridge, the eminent Tory merchant, and Mr. and Mrs. Rowe being his god-parents. He is believed to have received his early education from Master Ticknor, at the South-End Grammar School, and in 1790 entered the Boston Latin School, then under the charge of the famous Master Hunt. After leaving school, he was placed in the counting-room of Theodore Lyman, one of the leading merchants of Boston, who treated him with a kindness which made a strong impression upon the young man.

The adventurous and lucrative fur-trade on the northwest coast of America was at this time almost monopolized by Boston merchants. The voyages of the great navigator, Captain Cook, whose journals were published in 1784–85, had first called attention to this business, which had previously been carried on only by Russian traders. Cook's description of the abundance and beauty of the skins of the sea-otter, and of the high prices to be obtained for them in China, created a great sensation; and English traders at once engaged in the business, which at first produced enormous profits. The merchants of Boston were not far behind their English brethren; and in 1787 the first American expedition to the north-west coast sailed from that port. This was followed by many others, and at the close of the century the business was almost wholly in the hands of the Boston traders. The most eminent merchants engaged in the traffic. Their ships, well-armed, and loaded with assorted cargoes of West India goods, English manufactured articles, wines and spirits, fire-arms, and trifles, sailed around Cape Horn, and, after remaining many months on the inhospitable shores of Alaska and British America, bartering these articles for otter-skins with the treacherous natives, proceeded to Canton, touching on the way for provisions at the Sandwich Islands, and, after exchanging the skins for teas, porcelain, silks, &c., returned to Boston around the Cape of Good Hope, — the whole voyage occupying from two to three years.

Young Haskins had long felt the common boyish desire to see the world; and his wishes were destined to be gratified. In the year 1800, at the age of twenty-one years, he was intrusted with the charge of one of these expeditions, as supercargo of the ship Atahualpa, Captain Dixey Wildes, owned by Messrs. Lyman, Kirk Boott, and William Pratt.

He sailed from Boston August 31, and, after a long passage around Cape Horn, arrived March 20, 1801, on the north-west coast. The ship was of two hundred and nine tons, mounted eight guns, and had a cargo of broadcloth, flannel, blankets, powder, muskets, watches, tools, beads, wire, looking-glasses, and various other articles. He remained eighteen months on the coast, till the close of September, 1802, cruising up and down through the dangerous waters of the great north-western archipelago, from the forty-eighth to the fifty-ninth parallels of latitude, trading with the capricious and treacherous natives, repeatedly baffled by contrary winds, and encountering constant perils. During this time, so many other vessels were on the coast that the Indians were able to demand and obtain high prices for their furs; and the results of the traffic were disappointing to the most of those concerned in it. Mr. Haskins's high hopes of brilliant success were not realized. He prosecuted the business unflinchingly, with all his native energy and perseverance ; but the prolonged stay on the coast grew exceedingly tedious to him, and he became impatient to return to his friends and his home.

" The navigation here," he wrote to Mr. Lyman, " is more hazardous and the business worse than I expected, especially the inland navigation. Sunken rocks, strong tides, fogs, calms, no bottom for anchoring, and a large proportion of bad weather are among the difficulties we are obliged to combat." His companions were uncongenial; the natives were, in his own words, " the most filthy creatures imaginable " ; the country was gloomy and forbidding, — " a country (he wrote) which Nature never formed for the habitation of human beings. It consists of craggy, snowy mountains, thrown promiscuously together, and much intersected by arms of the sea ; it is covered from the summits to the water's edge with immense forests of pines, dreary and impenetrable. Eagles and ravens are almost the only species of the feathered tribe which the horror of such gloomy regions has not driven to seek a more desirable abode." " What I have learned," he wrote to his sister Elizabeth, in answer to her inquiries, " is little else than patience under head-winds and calms, and five or six different Indian languages." *

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* Mr. Haskins's diary, kept in Boston, after his return from this voyage, contains several passages written in the Indian tongue.

The well-chosen books which he carried with him, some of them parting gifts from his mother, and which he used to read until late in the night, afforded him his principal enjoyment. "I esteem them invaluable," he said in the same letter, "having realized that Montesquieu thought correctly when he wrote that to be fond of reading was to have the power of changing those moments of lassitude which visit every one into the most delicious moments of existence."

At last, after some thirty-five hundred skins and twenty-four hundred tails of the sea-otter, with a few other furs, had been collected, the Atahualpa sailed September 30, 1802, for China, touching for supplies at the Sandwich Islands. Here she was visited by the King, the celebrated Kamehameha, to whom Mr. Haskins presented a cutlass, a large looking-glass, and some red cloth.

On the 8th of December the ship anchored in Macao Roads. Mr. Haskins made arrangements with the captain and supercargo of the Boston ship Alert, which was also from the north-west coast, to share with them a small factory in Canton, in which they lived while they bargained for their cargoes with native merchants. The skins sold for twenty dollars, and the tails for two dollars, each; and, after investing the proceeds in teas, silks, porcelains, satins, sugar, &c., to the value of over fifty-seven thousand dollars, Mr. Haskins sailed for home February 6, 1803, and, passing the Cape of Good Hope safely, arrived in Boston Harbor June 17, after an absence of ten hundred and twenty days. He kept a full journal of this long voyage in three large folio volumes, — a few extracts from which, after his return, were published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, through the agency of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Emerson. These extracts contained the first published intimation of the existence of the great river Stikine.

On his return to Boston, Mr. Haskins received and accepted an advantageous offer from Mr. Lyman, in accordance with which he immediately hired one-half of the store No. 66 Long Wharf, and went into business in connection with that gentleman. At the end of two years this arrangement was terminated. Mr. Haskins, at this time, received a very favorable proposition to establish himself in Canton, in connection with a highly respectable Boston house; but the memory of his long exile on the north-west coast was too fresh in his mind, and he felt so great a reluctance to separate himself again from his family and friends that he declined the offer. He remained in Boston, and for many years was actively engaged there in extensive and varied business. He was associated as a ship-owner with Edward Cruft, Benjamin W. Lamb, and other well-known Boston merchants, and carried on trade with domestic and European ports, Honduras, the north-west coast, &c.; also, after his separation from Mr. Lyman, he did some business as a commission merchant. In 1809, with his brother Thomas, Samuel D. Harris, and Thomas Hill, Jr., he purchased a distillery on Essex Street, and thereafter for many years, in addition to his other business, was engaged in the manufacture of New England rum, which he shipped to the southward. During the war of 1812, he became interested in the domestic manufacture of cotton and woollen cloths. With Charles W. Greene, Richard D. Harris, and Benjamin W. Lamb, he established on South Street, in Boston, a cloth factory, of which he took the management, but which, in consequence of the peace with Great Britain, came to a disastrous termination. He was also a stockholder and director of the Bristol Cotton Manufacturing Company, established at Dighton, Massachusetts.

While thus actively engaged in business, Mr. Haskins became much interested in military matters. In 1810 the Boston Hussars were organized, — a brilliant and dashing cavalry company, distinguished by its costly and beautiful uniform, and by the high social standing of its members, nearly fifty in number, among whom may be mentioned Richard D. and Samuel D. Harris, Robert G. Shaw, Richard Sullivan, William Sturgis, and Edward Jeffries. The Hon. Josiah Quincy was the first captain of the company; and Mr. Haskins, who was an accomplished horseman, seems to have been among its original and most active members. March 21, 1811, he was appointed sergeant, and about the same time treasurer, of the company. In 1812 he was clerk. May 3, 1814, he was elected cornet, and April 25, 1816, first lieutenant, which last office he resigned in February, 1817. Dressed in the brilliant uniform of the Prussian Hussars, well-mounted, and carrying long heavy sabres, and a beautiful standard presented to them by Lieutenant-Governor William Phillips, of Boston, the company attracted great attention. Their dress consisted of a tight-fitting green jacket with showy trimmings, green trousers, a scarlet pelisse trimmed with black fur, and worn on the left shoulder, and a high square-topped hat, with a red and black plume.

During the war of 1812, when the coast of Massachusetts was threatened by English cruisers, the Hussars discarded their showy uniform, and were kept well-drilled and ready for instant service. In 1814 they were under orders, in case of alarm, whether by day or night, to assemble in Chauncy Place, Boston, with flints, cartridges, &c., complete for duty; but their services were never required.*

Mr. Haskins was also a member for some years of the Washington Fire Company, of Boston. Among other associations of which he was a member may be mentioned the Episcopal Charitable Society, the Humane Society, and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He became a resident member of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, January 5, 1848.

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* The writer is indebtod for valuable reminiscences of this brilliant company to the venerable Moses Williams, Esq., of Jamaica Plain, who is now (January, 1880), with one exception, its sole surviving member.

March 24, 1814, Mr. Haskins was married at Boston by the Rev. Dr. Gardiner, Rector of Trinity Church, to Miss Rebecca, the eldest daughter of David and Rebecca (Rose) Greene, of Boston. Mr. Greene was a graduate of Harvard College, a highly respected merchant, of excellent family and connections, whose ancestors were among the earliest settlers of Rhode Island, where members of the family had filled the highest offices in the Colony and State. In the Revolutionary war, in consequence of his loyalty to Great Britain, he had forsaken his home, and had been proscribed and banished. After going to England, he established himself in business in the island of Antigua, where he married Rebecca, daughter of John Rose, a merchant, and provost-marshal-general of the island. After the peace he returned to Boston, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits, and was subsequently president of the Union Insurance Company.

In 1817, owing to the failure of his brother-in-law and intimate friend, Charles W. Greene, Mr. Haskins, with his brother Thomas, sustained such heavy losses that they were compelled to suspend payments, and make an arrangement with their creditors. At this time he received an offer from Mr. Lyman to go out to Canton, and carry on business there; but he declined it, and resumed business in Boston, which he continued till 1829, — a year of great financial disaster, — when he was a second time forced to suspend payment.

He had had more than enough of active mercantile life. Two years before, he had written to his brother-in-law, the Hon. Leonard Jarvis, of Maine: —

> "Trading business in Boston is done in the most keen manner, — so much so that a man must learn to live on air, and

almost be a rogue from necessity, to hold his own or get ahead there. For my own part, I am quite disgusted with it, and should be delighted to get clear, and attend to nothing else but tilling the ground; but, at present, I have no reason to expect such good luck."

The desired opportunity now presented itself. Mr. Haskins withdrew from business, and henceforth devoted himself to agricultural pursuits and to the care of his extensive real estate.

No history of Mr. Haskins's business life would be complete without some mention of the extraordinary lawsuits by which he was harassed for many years. These suits grew out of a sale of land made in 1791 by Captain John Haskins, as administrator, and which was called in question, after a lapse of nineteen years, by members of the Holyoke family, heirs of the intestate. They were based on the most technical grounds, the principal point being the claim that administration had been granted in the wrong county, and that all the administrator's acts were consequently void. The suits were manifestly unjust; and some of the heirs, to their credit, declined to be concerned in them. The point of law, however, was sustained by the courts, — notwithstanding the fact that the administrator had acted in perfect good faith, under the advice of counsel and of the Judge of Probate himself; and that the heirs, who were in no way affected by the mistake, had had full knowledge of the proceedings at the time, and had acquiesced for so many years in the result. "All the equity," said Chief-Justice Parker more than once, "is on one side, and all the law on the other."

The first suit was begun February 20, 1810, and was brought against Captain John Haskins himself. It was twice tried; and both juries gave verdicts for the defendant. In 1814 the suit was abated, in consequence of the death of one of the plaintiffs. Another long interval followed; but in 1825 the litigation was renewed. Daniel Webster, Lemuel Shaw, and other eminent lawyers were retained as counsel by the defendants. Four more trials were had. Two juries again gave verdicts for the defendants; another disagreed, with only one man in favor of the plaintiff; and the fourth only gave the latter a verdict under peremptory instructions from the court. At last, in 1830, a compromise was effected; and, twenty years after the date of the first suit, this wearisome and expensive litigation was brought to an end. Even this, however, did not finally dispose of the entire case. A portion of the lands in question had been conveyed to the United States; and the contest was transferred from the Supreme Court room in Boston to the halls of Congress. The Holyoke heirs set forth their alleged claim to this land in repeated petitions, which were combated by Mr. Haskins and his brother Thomas. The case was before Congress for many years; and it was not till 1841 that a final settlement was made between the parties, and this great controversy was forever terminated.

Mr. Haskins lived twenty-three years after retiring from business. During this time, as has been said, much of his attention was engaged by the care of his real estate, in which he had begun to deal at an early age. He had inherited from his father property at the south end of Boston; and he made extensive purchases of land in Boston, South Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester. He also owned lands in Waterford and Augusta, Maine, and in Strafford and Grafton Counties, New Hampshire. By judicious management, and by the great increase in the value of real estate in Boston and its vicinity, he was ultimately enabled to repair his business losses, and to acquire a handsome competence.

His agricultural pursuits embraced farming, stock-raising, and horticulture, for which he had a strong natural fondness. Through the earlier part of his life, his home had been in Boston; and he had therefore had little opportunity to gratify his tastes in these directions. He had, however, during many years, been interested in the raising of merino sheep, which were kept for him in the country.

In 1818 and 1819 he lived in Dorchester, and subsequently, for a short time, in Brookline. About the beginning of 1824 he purchased the Dillaway estate, on Back Street (now Walnut Avenue), in Roxbury, — a farm of nearly forty acres, on which he lived many years. In the management of this farm, he found occupation which was thoroughly congenial to him. It offered, like all Roxbury farms in that day, ample opportunity for those qualities of judgment and taste in its development which Mr. Haskins possessed in an eminent degree, and which he was never so happy as in exercising. Feeling that he had now established himself in a permanent home, he set himself with energy to cultivate and adorn the grounds. He did not, however, enter unintelligently upon the work; but, while actively engaged in raising hay, vegetables, fruits, and flowers, in constructing green-houses and hotbeds, and in stocking his farm with cattle, bees, and domestic birds and animals of all kinds, he took pains to acquaint himself, by reading, with the most advanced results in agriculture and in the kindred departments in which he was interested. In particular, he devoted much care to the cultivation of fine grapes. A natural fondness for experimenting, combined with the same patriotic desire for commercial independence of the Old World which had actuated him in his attempts at sheep raising and cotton manufacturing, induced him to take part in the unsuccessful effort to introduce silk-worms into New England, and in the raising of mulberry-trees for their food.

He was an excellent judge of cows, and originated the famous native "Cream-pot Breed." Chancing one day while on a journey to Mount Monadnock, to meet a drove of cattle, he was much struck with the appearance of one cow, which was of a dark maroon color, with short horns and large dewlap. He offered her owner forty dollars for her, which was regarded as a high price. The owner was at first reluctant to part with her, saying she was the best cow in the drove, but finally accepted the offer. She proved a remarkable animal, giving a great quantity of milk, the cream of which was of extraordinary thickness and richness, and could be stirred into butter in a few seconds. This cow became very famous; her descendants all had the same color and marks, and their milk and cream possessed the same qualities. Repeatedly the highest premiums were awarded to them at the Norfolk County cattle-shows at Dedham. Mr. Haskins eventually disposed of all the cows of this stock to Colonel Samuel Jaques, of the Ten-Hills Farm in Somerville, who demanded and received for them exceedingly high prices. Henry Clay is said to have purchased one at a cost of five hundred dollars. Unfortunately, in a few years the breed became extinct.

Mr. Haskins had looked forward to spending the remainder of his days on his Roxbury farm; but, during the remarkable rise in the value of real estate in 1836, he received from the Roxbury Land Company so large an offer for his house and thirty acres of his land that he felt obliged to accept it. Finding another, though smaller, estate on Columbia Street, Dorchester, for sale, he purchased it, and lived there for a few years. He subsequently returned to Roxbury. Here, on a commanding elevation, named by him "Buena Vista," — a part of the old farm of John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, — he built a handsome stone house, in which he passed the last years of his life.

He died there, after an illness of some weeks, November 9, 1852, at the age of seventy-three years, and was buried at Trinity Church, Boston. His wife survived him many years, dying at the house of her eldest son, Ralph, in Boston, August 2, 1873, in the eighty-eighth year of her age.

Mr. Haskins was a man of commanding stature and muscular frame, of dignified bearing and courteous manners. Possessed of great decision of character and remarkable perseverance, honorable and just in all dealings, exact and punctual in business, manly and self-reliant, a merchant of high standing, of sound judgment, and of great sagacity, he commanded the respect of all men. He was eminently social and domestic in his feelings and habits. He set a high value upon the friendship of those in whom he had confidence, and was always loyal and faithful to them, taking sincere pleasure in serving their interests, and always welcoming them with hearty hospitality. "I have felt," he once wrote sadly, "the full force of misfortune in the loss of property; but there is no keenness in that sensation to be compared to that of losing a *friend*."

Such a man could not fail to win the affection of a wide circle, who loved him for his warm heart and genial nature. His wife shared in his social disposition; and together they made their home a delightful spot, not only to their children, but to hosts of visitors, whose names were daily recorded in his diary, and many of whom were devoted and life-long friends. He was especially kind to young men, and took pleasure in assisting them in their efforts to obtain an education. Frequently applied to for advice, he was always ready to give judicious counsel to those who consulted him. Though the youngest of a large family, he became by his force of character its recognized head; and his brothers and sisters looked to him for advice and aid. His family feeling was unusually strong. His kinsmen were always welcome at his home; and he never failed to render them, in times of need, all the assistance in his power.

Says his nephew, Ralph Waldo Emerson, in a letter to Mr. Haskins's son: —

> "Your father was the admired brother of my mother. I learned from her that I was named Ralph for him, — he being at that time far absent in the Pacific Ocean. Great was her joy in his safe return home; and he met her affection by careful interest and advice in her affairs from year to year. His house was to my brothers and myself a joyful place. I recall many visits to it, particularly in Roxbury. I confess, too, that I was proud of his manly beauty in early times in the Boston Hussars, and which I think he never lost."

He possessed a remarkable fund of general information, and read much on history, science, agriculture, and the various topics of the day. He always kept himself thoroughly informed on public affairs. He read regularly the official reports of Congressional proceedings, including the speeches of eminent statesmen of all political parties, — thus illustrating in his own practice the rule which he used to give to young men, "Always read both sides, and think for yourselves."

An ardent patriot, he was proud of the history of the United States, and looked forward with enthusiasm and confidence to their future greatness. He took an especial interest in the navy, and used to relate how he had been an eye-witness of the famous sea-fight in Boston Bay, between the Chesapeake and Shannon, which he watched through a glass from the summit of Blue Hill. But he had no taste nor ambition for public office. He was accustomed to say that office-holders were the servants of the people, and he would rather remain one of the masters. In early life he was a decided Federalist, and denounced the war of 1812 as "foolish and wicked." In later years his views were much changed, and he became a Democrat. He was not a partisan, however, and was opposed to any extension of slavery.

The son of such excellent parents, Mr. Haskins could hardly fail to be a man of strong religious character. One who knew him well wrote of him: —

> "His firm, unwavering faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, quiet confidence in the wisdom that ordereth all things well, and child-like reliance on his Heavenly Father's love, made his long life beautiful, peaceful, and happy. His remarkable faith upheld him in the day of trial, gave him patience during a long and distressing illness, and supported him when death was near."

He was through life very regular in his attendance on Divine service; and in 1816, August 1, he records in his diary the fact that he "tarried with the communicants for the first time." He was a member of Trinity Church, under the rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Gardiner, and subsequently took a leading part in the establishment of St. James's Church, Roxbury, where he was confirmed by Bishop Griswold. At the organization of the church in 1832, he was chosen a member of the vestry, and united with the other members in the autumn of the same year in extending a call to the Rev. M. A. De Wolfe Howe, then a young man in deacon's orders, since Bishop of Central Pennsylvania. In a charming letter to Mr. Haskins's son, the Rev. David G. Haskins, the Bishop recalls the many difficulties and discouragements that beset the infant parish in its efforts to build a church, and the unruffled temper and calm persistency manifested by Mr. Haskins through all trials and differences: —

> "He became the Chairman of the Building Committee; and, notwithstanding his own private affairs at that time demanded his careful attention, he gave to his duties, as connected with the church, an amount of thought, time, and labor which could not have been purchased, — the free tribute of his devotion to the Lord and his Household. The hindrances to the easy progress of the work were various and most trying. Subscribers failed to pay the amount of their pledges; the cost of the building ran far beyond the estimates of the architect; creditors grew impatient; the workmen were unreasonable; winter came on

prematurely, while the walls were yet unfinished. Yet Mr. Haskins's faith never faltered, his patience never flagged. Through good report and evil report he persevered, and the church was made ready for occupancy. Comfortless it was indeed, far too large for the little disheartened flock that shivered around its chancel. It was incomplete, overwhelmed with debt, and constantly threatened with attachment and sale. The people, estranged from one another, at length became alienated from their pastor. Not so my friend Mr. Haskins. The beginning of his confidence he held firm unto the end. He was loyal and true to the last. * * *

" Happy relations were restored, and the church became, under the blessing of God, relieved of nearly its entire indebtedness, and grew to be one of the most active and useful parishes of the diocese. Heaven blessed Mr. Haskins with more assured prosperity in his advancing years, and enabled him to aid yet more liberally in the rescue of the church which he had reared from its embarrassments. I shall never forget the benignity of his countenance, nor the calm satisfaction with which he contemplated the constant increase of the congregation, and the sure establishment of our communion in old Roxbury. After 1846 I saw him but occasionally. Age only mellowed his character. When I heard of his death, I felt that a true heart had been chilled that was never cold before, and that a Christian man had gone to his account, who had a record of earnest service, and as few of the sins of malevolence and strife and hasty speech to bewail as ever cling to poor, frail mortals when they approach the bar of God."

Mr. Haskins had five children, all but one of whom survived him; viz.: —

(1.) Rebecca Rose, born in Boston, January 27, 1815; died July 26, 1816.

(2.) Ralph, born in Boston, February 6, 1817; married (1) at Geneva, Illinois, May 19, 1841, to Miss Susan E. Mix, daughter of Captain W. P. Mix, U. S. N.; (2) at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, February 10, 1853, to Miss Maria Louisa Beall, daughter of John Hillery Beall, of Maryland; studied civil engineering, and afterwards became a farmer and real estate agent. Had two sons and three daughters.

(3.) David Greene, born in Boston, May 1, 1818; graduated at Harvard College, 1837; married at Portland, Maine, December 20, 1842, to Miss Mary Cogswell Daveis, eldest daughter of the Hon. Charles Stewart Daveis, of Portland. A clergyman of the Episcopal Church; settled over parishes at Medford, Brighton, and Arlington, Massachusetts. Principal for some years of a young ladies' school in Boston; elected Dean of the Theological School, and Commissioner of Education of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee; S.T.D., Columbia College, 1877. Had two sons and three daughters.

(4.) Rebecca Greene, born in Brookline, Massachusetts, September 20, 1823; married at Roxbury, April 5, 1848, to Charles C. Jewett, Professor of Modern Languages at Brown University; afterwards Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, District of Columbia, and Superintendent of the Boston Public Library. Had one son and two daughters.

(5.) Charles, born in Roxbury, July 3, 1826; married June 21, 1847, to Miss Adelaide C. Raphael, of Louisville, Kentucky. An architect; died January 9, 1869, at Boston. Had one son and two daughters.

DAVID HENSHAW

David Henshaw was born at Leicester, Worcester County, Massachusetts, April 2, 1791. His father, David, was a patriot of the Revolution, and for many years a magistrate of the county, — a man much respected and esteemed in his day; he was born August 19, 1744; married in 1773 to Mary Sargent, who was born August 27, 1755. The subject of this notice was brought up, like most farmer boys in those days, to labor on the farm; his education, subsequently improved by self-culture, was obtained at the town school and at the academy in Leicester. In 1807, at the age of sixteen, he was apprenticed to Dix & Brinley, druggists, in Boston. On the death of Dr. Dix he continued with George Brinley, the surviving partner, and spent seven years in acquiring his mercantile education, during which time he devoted his evenings and leisure hours to reading and study, and by a judicious application of his time to those objects obtained a thorough knowledge of chemistry, which he afterwards made very profitable in pursuing some branches of that science as a trade. He acquired in the mean time a good knowledge of the French, and subsequently of the Spanish language, besides storing his mind with information upon science and history. He first came to Boston in the time of the embargo and non-intercourse — the time of the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, and of the British orders in council — measures that laid waste our foreign commerce, and assailed our national rights — the time of British impressments and of the outrages that both England and France committed upon our national flag and the lives of our citizens. Opposition to the administration of the general government insensibly led the Federal party to espouse the cause of Great Britain. Mr. Henshaw took a different view of public affairs, and gave his support to the administration of Mr. Jefferson, advocating democratic principles in numerous communications which appeared in the newspapers of that day. In them he defended those who had, on the platform of these principles, been called by the voice of the people to administer the government. As an earnest of his political faith, he enlisted in the Washington Light Infantry, — an independent company of militia, composed exclusively of democrats. To arm and equip himself for this service was a serious tax upon his then slender finances, and nothing but a sense of public duty would have induced him to incur it. Coming of age in the eventful period of the last war with Great Britain, he took an active and zealous part in support of that measure. This to many was a matter of surprise, as most of his associates, patrons, and acquaintances were federalists and belonged to the opposite side; and it will long be remembered how strong and proscriptive federalism of that day was. He commenced in Boston in 1814 the drug business, to which he had been educated; and he successfully pursued it till 1829, when, sustaining a high character as an honorable and upright merchant, he was called to a wider field of employment — the performance of public duties for which he was peculiarly adapted.

In 1819 and 1820, distrusting the political principles of John Q. Adams, Secretary of State under President Monroe, and fearing the influence which that eminent man seemed to be acquiring over the democratic party, Mr. Henshaw wrote some spirited articles, designed as a warning to the democracy against what he believed to be Mr. Adams's political heresies; but Mr. Ballard, who was then the proprietor and the editor of the "Boston Patriot," — the leading, if not the only, democratic newspaper in Boston, — declined publishing them. This refusal, together with others of a like character, induced Mr. Henshaw to inquire for a suitable person to establish and conduct another democratic paper in Boston, that should be free from the influence which seemed to paralyze the democracy of the "Patriot."

These inquiries in the end induced Mr. Henshaw to invite Mr. Nathaniel Greene, who then printed a paper at Haverhill, Massachusetts, to establish a democratic paper in Boston; which invitation was accepted; and hence the origin of the "Boston Statesman," — a paper which Mr. Henshaw aided Mr. Greene in founding and sustaining. As a consequence, an intimate friendship grew up between them, which continued unabated during Mr. Henshaw's life.

After the establishment of the "Statesman," Mr. Henshaw became a constant contributor to its columns; and although from his youth up he had been ardent in politics, and had made it a study, he never permitted it to interfere with his business, nor allowed its influence to mar his personal friendships or change his social relations. During the great political campaign in Massachusetts in 1823, which resulted in the election of William Eustis as Governor, and the triumph of the democratic party, he wielded a vigorous pen, and contributed in no small degree to that achievement. He pursued measures which tended to compel the publication of the records of the Hartford Convention, never until that time published, though they had been filed and deposited in the archives of the State of Massachusetts for several years. After the publication of these records, he analyzed them, and, in a series of cogent articles under the signature "Bostonian," in the "Boston Statesman," endeavored to show the fraud and falsity of them from proofs contained within the same. In the presidential campaign that followed the next year, he adhered to the democratic party of the Union in supporting William H. Crawford for President; after whose defeat and the election by Congress of John Q. Adams he continued to oppose the principles of the federal party, which was brought into power by that election. He was one of the foremost in urging a reunion of all sections of the democracy, which had been distracted by divisions about men, upon General Jackson as the expounder of democratic principles and the head of the party.

In 1824 and 1825 he advocated the construction of a free bridge from Wheeler's Point to South Boston. The opponents of this measure assumed that a new bridge would destroy the value of the old toll-bridge, and injure the value of all wharf property above the proposed new bridge; that the legislature had no constitutional power to impair the profits of a bridge they had previously chartered by granting a right to build another and a free one near it; and that, if such bridge should be built, indemnity must be made, not only to the old bridge proprietors, but also for the damage done to wharves and business in that part of Boston. These views had been advocated with such force that thus far they had defeated all the efforts of those who desired a new bridge. Mr. Henshaw, in publications he made at that time, assumed that the people had a right to better their condition by improvements of this character; that the legislature was the judge of what the interests of the public required; that, when they decided for a measure, it could be legally executed, — the public only paying for what private property was actually taken for that purpose; and that the parties who received only a consequential damage from the diversion of travel or business had no rightful claim to remuneration. In laying down these plain and simple principles, the greatest obstacles to a free bridge were removed; and the legislature soon after granted a charter for the one since erected. Individuals built it, and gave it to the city of Boston, in aid of which Mr. Henshaw's mercantile house contributed about one thousand dollars.

During Governor Lincoln's administration, the State, on his recommendation, authorized a survey for a canal from Albany to Boston. General H. A. S. Dearborn, having been appointed to conduct the preliminary examinations, made an elaborate report, favorable to the project. Mr. Henshaw published in the "Boston Courier" a short review of that report, in which he endeavored to show the inutility and impracticability of the project; and from the data furnished in the report itself, he produced computations to show that it would require at least a century of time to tunnel the Hoosac Mountain, — a measure reported by the commissioners. It was thought the review had much influence in defeating that project. In the spring of 1826 Mr. Henshaw was elected to the senate of Massachusetts from the Suffolk district, and became an influential member of that body. The question relative to another bridge from Boston to Charlestown was before the legislature during his term; and he took a decided stand in favor of a free avenue. Being chairman of the committee to whom the bill for the Warren Bridge was referred, he proposed a section providing that the building of the new bridge should be deferred for five years, in case the old bridge proprietors would agree to surrender their charter to the State at the end of that period. This would have afforded an ample compensation to the corporation of the old bridge, and to the citizens all they really needed, —a free avenue between Boston and Charlestown. The bill, being thus amended, was passed by the legislature, but vetoed by Governor

Lincoln, mainly on account of that section. Immediately after that veto, the legislature having adjourned, Mr. Henshaw replied to its reasoning through the "Boston Statesman," under the signature of "Suffolk," in a forcible and conclusive argument, both as to the constitutional right to grant the charter and as to the utility and expediency of annexing the conditions he had proposed. It is believed that all parties were at length satisfied that the course he proposed and advocated was the wisest and the best. Had it prevailed then, the public would have had sooner a free avenue between those cities at a less cost, and the proprietors of the old bridge would have obtained larger profits from their bridge.[1] During the year 1826 he was elected as chairman of the State Central Committee of the democratic party, opposed the administration of John Q. Adams, and unremittingly supported General Jackson, to the time of his election to the Presidency. This, of course, and as he had anticipated, cost him his seat in the Senate at the next election. Among the effusions of his pen, about this period, was a caustic and pungent review of Rev. Dr. Channing's "Remarks on the character of Napoleon Bonaparte."

In 1828 the legislature of Massachusetts created a Board of Internal Improvement, and elected Mr. Henshaw a member. He had been one of the earliest advocates of the introduction of railroads; and it was under the direction of that board that the first surveys for the Boston and Providence and the Boston and Albany Railroads were made. He efficiently co-operated with others in getting forward the Worcester Road, viewing it as the commencement of the line to Albany, — a work, as he often remarked, of great importance as a channel by which, when completed, much of the Western trade would naturally pass to Boston, thus enabling her more successfully to compete with New York. He continued a member of the State Board until it was dissolved. On the organization of the Boston and Worcester Railroad he was chosen a director in that corporation, and so continued by annual re-elections for twenty years; but on account of bodily infirmity he declined a re-election at the annual meeting, February 5, 1851, and received a vote of thanks from that corporation for his long and efficient services as a director.

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[1] The bill for building Warren Bridge was passed in 1828; and it has been the means of making free all the bridges out of Boston.

Mr. Henshaw was, as we have before remarked, in favor of General Jackson as a candidate for the Presidency, regarding him as worthy of the united support of all who adhered to the doctrine of State rights and a strict construction of the Constitution. He advocated his election with great ability in newspaper articles and other productions.

Such being his political views, he engaged ardently in that struggle, and strenuously counselled concert of action and fidelity to party as equivalent to success, — how prophetically the triumphant election of General Jackson abundantly testified. Soon after the in-coming of the new administration, he was appointed collector of the port of Boston. Various considerations not personal to himself induced him to accept the appointment, although at much pecuniary sacrifice, as he relinquished a business much more lucrative than the emoluments of that office.

Coming into office on the wave of a great political revolution, it was expected that he would follow the policy of the administration, and give to the dominant party its proportion of office. Official positions were then almost exclusively in the possession of opponents of the democratic party. Changes, of course, were made; and, as the office of collector is one of considerable patronage, Mr. Henshaw was assailed by the friends of those who were dismissed and of those who were not appointed: he was thus placed between the two fires of friends and of foes, — the disappointed democrats being, if possible, the more violent of the two. These assaults, however unpleasant, produced no deviation in his course; nor did they provoke replies through the newspapers. In the distribution of official patronage, he conformed to the rule he had recommended to prominent democrats before the election. In relation to this point, we extract a sentence from one of many letters of similar import, written to a distinguished gentleman in the fall of 1828, after it was known that General Jackson would be elected: —

> "My individual opinion is, that a liberal and magnanimous course of policy towards our opponents would be the most judicious one; but I would not let magnanimity to our opponents degenerate into imbecility, nor injustice to ourselves. I would give to friends the preference in official appointments; I would remove the incompetent men of whatever party, and highly obnoxious partisans; but I would not make an indiscriminate sweep merely because of an honest preference for Mr. Adams."

Nor did he; for he left almost a third of the offices in the customs in the hands of political opponents.

He early expressed a distrust of the United States Bank, and in 1828 opposed the renewal of its charter. In 1831 he published a review of the report of the Committee of Ways and Means in Congress, in which report a re-charter of the bank was urged in a labored essay. The theory and doctrine of that report were assailed with great force, and a renewal of the charter opposed on the ground of unconstitutionality and inutility. That publication was extensively circulated in New England and in other parts of the Union, and gained for its author a good degree of celebrity. An edition of it was reprinted at Albany, of which many thousand copies were circulated through the State of New York; it was also reprinted in several other States. The next year the question of rechartering the United States Bank was agitated in congress; and indications were almost decisive that a new charter would be granted, and some feared that the bill would pass by so large a majority that the veto power could not arrest it. Many congressmen who were friendly to the administration believed in the necessity of a national bank as a balance-wheel and regulator of the currency, but at the same time preferred granting a charter to new stockholders, if practicable, instead of renewing the grant to the old ones. To draw this class from the support of the old bank was an object of the first importance. For this purpose Mr. Henshaw prepared a petition to Congress for a charter of a new bank with a capital of fifty millions of dollars, — offering the United States a bonus of some millions, and agreeing to perform all the duties for the Government then performed by the old bank, or to accept a charter on any other reasonable conditions that Congress in its wisdom might impose.

The proposition to give a charter to new stockholders appeared so reasonable, and the desire that it should be so given in preference to renewing the old charter was so general, that rich and leading men in Boston and neighboring places readily joined in this measure, and in such numbers as to insure the establishment of a new bank, should a charter be granted to either party. The petition in the opinion of many effected the main object for which it was started, — which was no other than to reduce the number of members of Congress in favor of a re-charter below two-thirds, and thus enable the executive veto to suspend the renewal, and finally give the people time to crush the monster. His dislike to the bank was founded in a deep-seated belief that its powers and privileges were unjust and oppressive to the mass of the community, and dangerous to our institutions. His opposition to it was early, steady, and lasting. He removed his account as collector of the port of Boston from the branch of the United States Bank in that city in 1830; he advised the removal of the public deposits from the bank in 1833;

and, during the "panic" which followed, he gave to that wise and bold measure of General Jackson his unfaltering, ardent, and efficient support. When the banks suspended specie payments in 1837, he was among the first to suggest the "sub-Treasury," as his published letters of that day will show. Time has satisfied the public mind of the correctness of his judgment on those points.

Soon after that period, his attention was called to the subject of the legal rights of the press and the law of libel, in consequence of the prosecution of Abner Kneeland for blasphemy and of the Rev. Mr. Cheever for libel, — trials that commanded much public attention at the time. His views on these subjects were promulgated through the columns of the "Morning Post and Statesman," and in a pamphlet which he wrote and published, and which made a deep and lasting impression on the public mind.

The Constitution of Massachusetts provides that the governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, and representatives shall be chosen by "written votes." In practice this was construed, for more than half a century, to mean votes in handwriting. In so large a city as Boston, where fifty or sixty names were borne on each ticket, the labor of preparing five or six thousand tickets for voters was very great; and it bore with more severity upon the democrats than upon the federalists, — because the democratic laborers and mechanics had little spare time for preparing such lengthy tickets; while the federalists, by their clerks in the pay of the city, the banks, the insurance offices, and the like, procured their votes to be written, if not at the public charge, at least without charge to themselves. Mr. Henshaw insisted that in this provision the Constitution intended to prevent *hand-voting*, and voting *viva voce;* that it was simply designed to secure a secret ballot; that this object was attained as well with a printed as with a written vote; that, in fact and in law, *printing is writing*. Failing to persuade the city officials into this belief, he commenced an amicable suit against the warden, who had refused a printed vote from him, and obtained a judicial decision in his favor, that *printing is writing*, and consequently a printed vote is a written vote. This was the origin of the use of printed ballots in Massachusetts, — a great practical convenience at that time, and the more to be appreciated now, when the number of persons to be voted for at one time has been increased.

Mr. Henshaw published a review of the famous Dartmouth College case in 1837, embracing his views upon corporations in general. A strong feeling pervaded the community against all corporations indiscriminately. The object of Mr. Henshaw was to point out the evils and the benefits of corporations, and to show how the first might be avoided and the last retained. The principles laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College case, he thought, had an important bearing upon the character of all corporations, and, believing the decision to be erroneous, he attempted to show that it was founded in error. The Supreme Court asserted that the charter of Dartmouth College was a crown grant, made by the King of Great Britain, George the Third, when New Hampshire was a province of his kingdom; that eleemosynary corporations of that character were private perpetuities, and not public institutions, and that the charter was a contract which the State legislature could not touch, and hence the law of New Hampshire, appointing additional trustees and altering the government of the college, was void; that the charter, being a crown grant, was to be defined, limited, and controlled by the British common law, and not by the laws of the State. Mr. Henshaw produced facts to show that it was a provincial grant, and not a crown grant; that, being a provincial grant, made by the governor and council of New Hampshire, and attested by the seal of the province, it was, according to admitted authority, both here and in Great Britain, to be defined, limited, and controlled by the local law; and that, by a colonial law of Massachusetts at the time New Hampshire was a part of that colony, — which law was still in force in New Hampshire when the college charter was granted, — colleges and schools of learning were considered public institutions, and not private perpetuities; that, being a public institution, not only from the local deed in the case, — the paramount law, — but from its very nature and purpose, the State had a right to control or abolish it; that in fact all donations given to it were always at the disposal of the legislature, and that the same principle ruled in similar institutions in Massachusetts; that the inhibiting clause in the Constitution of the United States, which forbids any State from passing laws impairing the obligations of contracts, applied to money contracts between individual parties, and was never intended to operate upon or control the legislation of the States relative to their great interests and policy, — the education and pursuits of their citizens. He considered many corporations of a business kind useful, and in fact, in our state of society, necessary; though he excluded from this category banks and all corporations for dealing in money. He maintained in that review, as he had previously done in an address he delivered, the 4th of July, 1836, before the democrats of Boston, in Faneuil Hall, that charters are laws, not contracts; that they are monopolies or exclusive privileges; that the principle or consideration on which the legislature of Massachusetts has a right to grant charters is the public good, — that being the primary, and individual interest only a secondary, object; that, when the public good requires the resumption of those privileges, the legislature has not only the right to resume them, but is in duty bound to resume them. Such action gives the legislature no claim to the stock or property of the corporation, for that is *individual* property; while, on the other hand, the franchises are *public* property, and should be recalled by legislative enaction, when found to be in conflict with the public welfare.

In 1836 Mr. Henshaw tendered his resignation of the office of collector to President Jackson, but withdrew it at the request of the President. He again tendered it to Mr. Van Buren, upon his entering upon the Presidency in 1837, but at his request continued to act during the year, — having in the mean time given notice that he would retire at the end of that year. Mr. Bancroft was appointed to succeed him on the 8th of January, 1838. During Mr. Henshaw's administration of that office he collected some forty millions of dollars; and the loss to the Government by failure to pay bonds during that time was but a few thousand dollars, a mere fraction of one per cent, — a fact creditable to the character of Boston merchants and the judgment of Mr. Henshaw. About the time he retired from office, the Commonwealth Bank — an institution with which the Government business was transacted — failed. This event was seized upon by violent political partisans as a pretext upon which to cast odium on Mr. Henshaw. It was alleged, in the "Boston Daily Atlas," that Mr. Henshaw, knowing that the bank was about to fail, paid the fishing bounties due at that season of the year by checks on that bank, and thus designedly cheated the "poor fisherman." A committee of the legislature, appointed to examine into the affairs of the Commonwealth Bank, aimed to propagate the same idea. The character of that report justified the severity of Mr. Henshaw in his reply, which silenced all attacks from every quarter. It seems strange that so gross a delusion could have pervaded the mind of any considerable portion of the public, yet there was not the least foundation in truth for their belief in this case. He was not only ignorant of the failure of the bank until within about an hour of its stopping, but, after the most diligent search by friends and foes, no fisherman has yet been found who had on hand when the bank failed any Commonwealth Bank bills passed to them for their bounties.

He was elected to the House of Representatives of Massachusetts in 1840 from Leicester; but, owing to sickness, his attendance during the session was brief. He however marked that brief period by an able argument in favor of a true and liberal construction of the Constitution in the case of the contested election from Mendon. In 1843 he was invited to a seat in President Tyler's cabinet. His acceptance of the office of Secretary of the Navy gave great offence to many, particularly to the Van Buren portion of the democratic party; and his appointment was rejected the following winter by the Senate.

In the cabinet, he advocated the annexation of Texas. Texas was annexed; and its annexation was the crowning act of President Tyler's administration (as was the admission of Louisiana that of Mr. Jefferson's); and it was the preliminary step to the acquisition of California.

Notwithstanding the violence with which those measures were assailed in this part of the country, it is believed but few could now be found willing to discard those vast and valuable acquisitions to the Union. In the administration of the Navy Department, Mr. Henshaw was eminently successful, infusing life and vigor into the service. He set the drones at work, dismissed defaulters and profligates, retrenched wasteful expenditures, and introduced a system of accountability in the expenditure of money and materials theretofore unknown in the service. His administration was one of the most distinguished for vigor, impartiality, and sound judgment that had ever been witnessed in that department; and, had he been continued in it for a few years, he would have rendered the navy more efficient, and consequently more serviceable and popular.

Mr. Henshaw was admitted an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, September 9, 1847. He resided on his paternal estate at Leicester, where he died November 11, 1852. He was never married.

The committee are indebted to Mr. Seth J. Thomas, an intimate friend of Mr. Henshaw, for the following reminiscences of him: —

No portrait of David Henshaw would be complete that did not present him very distinctly as loyal to truth, faithful to friendships, firm before adversity, firmer yet in times of peril, prompt to make sacrifices, respectful to the aged, thoughtful of the young, and beneficent to the poor. Above all, his mind was fair. In a lobby of the State House, before a committee of the legislature, one man is standing while all others present sit. He is of medium height, and weighs perhaps two hundred pounds. His shoulders are broad and square, his chest is deep and full, his face round and fair, his mouth small, his nose comely, eyes hazel, hair light brown and without yet any silvery fringe, his head large, and inclining to the right shoulder, and his look upward as if to invite the light. He is speaking, and it is evident he has in his mind the truth of what he is saying. His utterance is rapid. "If you write that down so," says he to the chairman, who is vainly attempting to report him and has repeated what he understood the speaker to say, "it will be your testimony, not mine." That man speaking is Mr. Henshaw.

In the Custom House he presided with equity. To Mr. Bailey, his principal deputy, he said: "The case you state is undoubtedly a technical violation of the law, but I am satisfied no wrong was intended; the government has lost nothing by the omission; don't exact the penalty." He was wise. To his co-directors of the Boston and Worcester Railroad he said: "We must be careful not to multiply branches, lest we get our capital so large that we cannot earn money enough to pay a dividend." In politics he was careful not to be deceived: "Is the man whom you recommend a democrat? Does he vote for Morton? That is the test."

He was frank. When Andrew Dunlap had made his speech in defence of Kneeland, he asked Mr. Henshaw how he liked it. "Some passages in it," said Mr. Henshaw, "were very beautiful; but I saw no necessity of presenting your client in contrast with your minister, Mr. Bentley, nor for telling the court and jury that your client's doctrines were not such as you intended to teach to your children." "I thought," said Dunlap, "that was due to myself." "Not at all," said Henshaw, "you were not on trial. Nobody questioned your opinions, nor cared for Bentley's. They were not involved in the issue. A lawyer had better not undertake a case that requires an apology to the jury for his undertaking it." Something further was said by Dunlap by way of explanation, when Henshaw added: "There is no sense in throwing dirt upon one's client for the sake of brushing it off." The subject of conversation was changed; but the friendly relations between Dunlap and Henshaw were never interrupted for a moment while Dunlap lived. Francis Xavier had written: "Order all your words and all your actions with your friends as if they would one day become your enemies and informers." "If I were to accept that counsel," said Mr. Henshaw, "I should have to forego the greatest luxury of living; I must take my chance of being maligned."

When the soldiers who had enlisted in Massachusetts for the war in Mexico were about to leave here, a reception to the officers was to be given, to which Mr. Henshaw was asked to subscribe. "I will subscribe," said he, "but it seems to me a reception would be more appropriate when they return." Some swords were presented. A friend suggested that a Bible would be a pretty gift to Caleb Cushing, the general. "I think," said Mr. Henshaw, "a map of the country over which he is about to travel would be more useful." Nevertheless, Mr. Henshaw presided at the reception and made a brief speech.

In the early part of Jackson's administration there was a division among the democrats of Boston, few indeed as there were of them, or in the words of that day, "conveniently small" as the party was. Henshaw was at the head of the larger division and had the president's ear and confidence. While he, with a friend now living in Brookline was in Washington, Dr. I. came there to represent the other side. "I wish," said Mr. Henshaw to this friend, "you would find out and let me know what the

Dr. wants." "I know already," said the friend; "he wants influence with the administration." "Ah," said Mr. Henshaw, "that is precisely what he can't have."

Among those who knew best it was conceded that there had not been within their memory a Secretary of the Navy his equal. When his nomination came before the Senate for confirmation, Mr. Choate, who was then a senator from Massachusetts, assured him there was nothing against him but the "original sin" — that of being a democrat. But the truth is Mr. Henshaw was not in accord with the time. He was not a trader. He had but one and the same story for two persons competing for that which could not be shared. He was perpendicular and immovable. To which it should be added: The politicians in Virginia wanted a man from that State at the head of the navy; and President Tyler, quite aware of Mr. Henshaw's rectitude and efficiency, was yet not unwilling that a Virginian should have the place. A Virginian was appointed, and when a few days later he was killed on the Princeton, another Virginian was appointed to fill his place.

Mr. Henshaw was moreover against slavery, both on moral and economic grounds. He had respect for all true adventurers. To the "young men's party" he wrote: "I never deserted any party. I have been exiled from yours, and there is no amnesty that will restore to me the enthusiasm of my youth." In the later years of his life, he suffered greatly from gout. "It was a part of my inheritance," said he, "but it was more than compensated by the care and tenderness of my mother." Mr. Henshaw's portrait hangs by the wall of the Collectors' room in the Custom House, Boston; but they of the generation of 1840 who knew him and still survive, will recognize him in the sketch I have made. When the supreme hour came he said: "Farewell. I have suffered much, but I have also enjoyed much. I have no fear." And a great and good man departed.

AMOS LAWRENCE

Amos Lawrence was born in Groton, Massachusetts, on the twenty-second of April, 1786. His father was Samuel Lawrence, son of Captain Amos Lawrence, Senior. His mother's maiden name was Susanna Parker. The first ancestor of the numerous families by the name of Lawrence in Massachusetts was named John, and his wife was Elizabeth. They were inhabitants of Watertown as early as 1635, and probably came over in the company with Governor Winthrop, in 1630.

The subject of this memoir, Amos Lawrence, writes:

"My father belonged to a company of *minute-men* in Groton at the commencement of the Revolution. On the morning of the nineteenth of April, 1775, when the news reached town that the British troops were on the road from Boston, General Prescott, who was a neighbor, came towards the house on horseback, at rapid speed, and cried out, 'Samuel, notify your men: the British are coming.' My father mounted the general's horse, rode a distance of seven miles, notified the men of his circuit, and was back again at his father's house in forty minutes. In three hours the company was ready to march, and the next day (the twentieth) reached Cambridge. My father was in the battle of Bunker Hill; received a bullet through his cap which cut his hair from front to rear; received a spent grape-shot upon his arm without breaking the bone. Many of his company were killed.

"His veteran Captain Farwell was shot through the body, was taken up for dead, and was reported so by the man who was directed to carry him off. This report brought back the captain's voice, and he exclaimed with his utmost power, 'It ain't true. Don't let my poor wife hear of this. I shall live to see my country free.' And so it turned out."

Amos Lawrence was educated first in the public schools in Groton, and afterwards in the academy which his father helped to establish, and which now bears his name. Thus his education was sufficient for the position in which he afterwards found himself. The best part of his education was that received in the family. Here both the paternal and maternal influence was excellent. In after-life he says, "As we children came forward, we were carefully looked after, and taught to use the talents entrusted to us." The most valuable instruction he received was from his mother, and late in life he often spoke of her in terms of the highest veneration. She was well fitted to train a family for the troubled, revolutionary times in which she lived. Education is a very comprehensive term, and by no means limited to scholastic studies, nor to parental instruction even: much depends on one's own efforts. Mr. Lawrence improved every opportunity: "he studied astronomy to good advantage when sent to watch the cattle in the fields below their old mansion."

He was never idle. Even in boyhood he employed himself in making elder pop-guns, in the preparation of which he acquired a strong taste for the use of the jack-knife. He said, "I like the plan of boys acquiring the taste for tools, and of their taking pains to learn their use, as it may be very valuable to them. It will also give them exercise of body and mind, without which they would suffer. Learn as much as you can of farming; for the work of your hands in this way may prove the best resource in securing comfort to you."

In the autumn of 1799 he was placed in a small store in the neighboring town of Dunstable. After a few months, he was transferred to the establishment of James Brazier, Esq., of Groton. At this store was transacted a large business for those times, and to get admission into it was almost as difficult as to enter Harvard College. Several clerks were employed. As Mr. Brazier did not take a very active part in the management of the business, in two years nearly the whole responsibility of the establishment rested upon young Lawrence. He acted as physician and apothecary, dispensing medicine to the doctors for all the neighborhood, as well as selling rum and brandy, dry-goods, tobacco, hardware, &c.

The habit of dispensing strong liquor at eleven and four o'clock prevailed very generally in those times, and young Lawrence drank with the other clerks and customers for a short time; but finding the habit increasing upon him, he declined to drink altogether. During the last five years of his clerkship, he says, "I did not drink a drop of spirit, though I mixed gallons for my master and his customers." This was not sold, but was given away.

Mr. Lawrence became of age April twenty-seventh, 1807, and his apprenticeship expired the same day. On the twenty-ninth of the same month he came to Boston. His object was to make acquaintances and to establish a credit, which would enable him to commence business on his own account in Groton; but, after a few days spent in Boston, he received the offer of a clerkship from a respectable house, which he accepted. His employers were so well satisfied with his services, that, in a few months, they offered to receive him into the firm; which offer, much to their surprise, he declined. He did not consider the business conducted upon correct principles; and the result showed his sagacity, for in a few months the firm failed. He was appointed by the creditors to settle up its affairs, which he did to their entire satisfaction.

The seventeenth of December, 1807, he commenced business for himself. He was remarkable through his whole life for the most punctilious exactness in all matters relating to business, and he required great exactness in his clerks. During the first seven years of his business-life he made all settlements weekly. Mr. Lawrence says, "I made $1,500 the first year, and more than $4,000 the second. Probably, had I made the $4,000 the first year, I should have failed the second or third year."

Several years later, when his younger brother Abbott came to be his partner, he was worth $60,000. His health, which had never been strong, failed in 1827. After this he never took an active part in business, though his name remained in the firm until his death, December thirty-first, 1852. His life was one of comparative retirement.

Mr. Lawrence married Sarah Richards, daughter of Mr. Giles Richards, of Boston, June sixth, 1811. His wife died of consumption, the fourteenth of January, 1819. He married the second time, Mrs. Nancy Ellis, widow of the late Judge Ellis, of Claremont, N. H., and daughter of Robert Means, Esq., of Amherst, N. H.

Mr. Lawrence held some important offices,—Member of the Legislature, Presidential Elector, Trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and others, and was elected an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, January eighth, 1847. He gave to benevolent purposes, during his life, $700,000. This was a large sum for one man to give from his own private fortune. "The Lord loveth a cheerful giver." Mr. Lawrence was such a giver; for, though his countenance was always pleasant, yet, when he gave, it was irradiated with a more serene and lovely smile. He showed his great wisdom in being his own executor, and in dispensing his favors with his own hand.

Mr. Lawrence's religious character seemed to be all that could be desired. He kept sacred the New-England Sabbath, and held family prayers morning and evening, every day. He who could say, "I am the happiest man alive; and yet I would willingly exchange worlds this day, if it were the good pleasure of our best Friend and Father in heaven," must have had that resignation to the divine will which ever characterizes true piety; and such was his language. The true spirit of the gospel breathed in the language and deeds of this good man during his life. A conscientious sense of his obligations to God, and dependence upon our Lord Jesus Christ, shone forth in all he did. In all his advice to others; in all his letters; in his intercourse with his partners and his clerks; in his horseback and carriage rides with the clergy, laymen, and ladies of Boston; in his longer journeys and tours with his companions; and in all his out-door and fireside conversations with those who were privileged to share them, — he maintained the most profound regard for religion, and exhibited the meek and lowly spirit of "the Master."

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